MEMOIRS

Of what Past in

CHRISTENDOM,

From the

WAR

Begun 1672.

TO THE

PEACE

Concluded 1679.

BY

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE* Baronet.

Beginning exactly where His *Letters* leave off.

LONDON,

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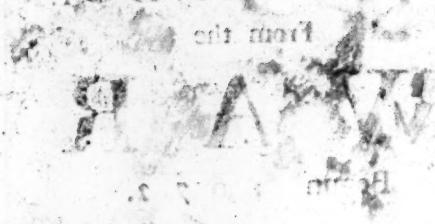

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

READER,

THESE following Papers I obtained from a Person to whom I must never restore them again; and the Author has not, that I know of, enquired after them since I had them. I must needs confess, 'Tis but too plain by the Epistle, that he intended they should not be publick during his Life; but though I have as great respect for him, as any man, yet I could not be of his mind in this; I think I should do the World wrong, to conceal any longer a Treatise of so much Profit and Pleasure to all that read it; and I hope I shall not be thought to do the Auther any, *in publishing it, since the charge of not doing it, was not given to me. I think likewise that if any of his Friends can obtain of him the* First *and* Third Parts *of these* Memoirs *that are mentioned in*

them they will do the Publick a great Piece of Service; and if they ſhould come from the Author's laſt hand, they may chance to be more Correct than theſe, which look as tho' they had never been review'd by the Author, but juſt as they fell from his Pen: However, I do not remember to have met with a Treatiſe in any language that I underſtand, which in my poor Judgment is written with more Candor and Truth and thorow inſight into the Matters it relates, ſtuft with greater Variety of Subjects, digeſted into better Order and Method, and expreſt with more Clearneſs and Spirit, than this is. I have not therefore, as I think there is no need, chang'd a word in them; but only where things are ſaid in French *or* Latin, *I have thought fit to tranſlate them in another Column, or the Margin; and if I have not done it ſo well as I ſhould do, I crave the Reader's Pardon, and in all elſe, do not doubt of his Thanks. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Author, who will be known by the firſt Pages of the Book; nor of the Time or Motive of its Writing, which are ſeen by the Epiſtle; but only heartily Pray to God to give him Good Health, and a long Life, that he may continue as he has ever been, the Ornament of Learning, and to his Country.*

To

To My SON.

April 3. 1683.

I Do not remember ever to have refus'd any thing you have deſir'd of me; which I take to be a greater Compliment to you than to my ſelf; ſince for a young man to make none but Reaſonable Deſires, is yet more extroardinary, than for an Old Man to think them ſo. That which you made me ſome time ſince, and have ſo often renew'd, I have at laſt reſolv'd to comply with, as well as the reſt; and if I live, will leave you ſome *Memoirs* of what has paſs'd in my Publick Imployments, eſpecially thoſe abroad, which reach'd from the Year 1665, to 1678; and run through the moſt important Foreign Negotiations of the Crown, with great connexion of Affairs at Home, during this Period, and the Revolutions it produc'd. The Confidence of the King my Maſter, and of His Chief Miniſters, as well as that of others abroad,

board, gave me the advantage to discern and to observe the true Springs and Motions of both, which were often mistaken in Court, and Parliament, and thereby fasten'd many Suspicions, Confidences, Applauses, Reproaches, upon Persons, and at times where they were very undeserved. Twenty years of my Life I pass'd in Publick Thoughts and Business from the Thirty Second to the Fifty Second Year of my Age, which I take to be the part of a Man's Life fittest to be dedicated to the Service of His Prince, or State, the rest being usually too much taken up with his Pleasures, or his Ease. The Native Love of my Country, and its Ancient Legal Constitutions, would not suffer me to enter into any Publick Affairs till the way was open for the King's Happy Restauration in 1660. And in 1680, you know I sent you to acquaint the King with my Resolutions to pass the remainders of my Life like as good a private Subject, as any he had; but never more to meddle with any Publick Imployment. All the rest of my Age before, and since that Period, I have taken no more notice of what pass'd upon the Publick Scene, than an Old man uses to

do

do of what is acted on a Theatre, where he gets as easie a Seat as he can, entertains himself with what passes upon the Stage, not caring who the Actors are, or what the Plot, nor whether he goes out before the Play be done. Therefore you must expect nothing from me out of the compass of that time, nor any thing of *that* it self with much application or care, further than of Truth. You know how lazy I am in my Temper, how uneasie in my Health, how weak my Eyes, and how much of my time passes in Walking or Riding, and thereby fencing all I can against two cruel Diseases that have for some time pursu'd me; So that I doubt the satisfaction you expect, will be chiefly owing to Ill Health, or Ill Weather, which yet are not like to fail at my Age, and in our Climate. For the rest, if you find any thing, either instructing or diverting in what I shall write upon this Subject, you may attribute it wholly to the Kindness and Esteem I have for you, without which I should not have given my self the trouble of such Recollections; And as I intend them for your Use, so I desire no Other may be made of them during my Life; when that is ended, neither They nor you will be any more

more in my care; and whatever I leave of this or any other kind, will be in your diſpoſal. I am the gladder, and it is but juſt, that my Publick Imployments ſhould contribute ſomething to your Entertainment, ſince they have done ſo little to your Fortune, upon which I can make you no excuſes: 'Twas a thing ſo often in my Power, that it was never in my Thoughts, which were turn'd always upon how much Leſs I needed, rather than how much More. If yours have the ſame turn, you will be but too Rich; if the contrary, you will be ever Poor.

MEMOIRS.

MEMOIRS

Of what paſt in

CHRISTENDOM

From 1672, to 1679.

CHAP. I.

HAving ended the firſt Part of theſe Memoirs with my Retirement from all Publick Buſineſs in the Year 1671, which was ſoon followed by the Second *Dutch* War, I ſhall begin this with the Approaches of the Peace in the Year 1673.

About this time, after two Summers ſpent in a War between *England* and *Holland*, with ſeveral Encounters at Sea, but no deciſive Action; both Par-

ties began to enter upon Thoughts, and indeed Neceſſities of a Peace. The Nations had been at War without being angry; and the Quarrel had been thought on both ſides, rather of the Miniſtries than the Peoples. The *Dutch* believ'd it at firſt intended only againſt *De Wit*'s Faction in favour of the Prince of *Orange*; and in *England*, ſome laid it to the Corruption of Miniſters by the Money of *France*; and ſome that pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper Deſigns. The Lord *Clifford*'s Violence in beginning it, gave it an ill air in general; and the diſuſe of Parliaments, a cruel Maim in the chief Sinews of War.

The Subſidies from *France* bore no proportion to the Charge of our Fleets; and our ſtrength at Sea ſeem'd rather leſſen'd than increas'd by the conjunction of theirs: Our Seamen fought without heart, and were more afraid of their Friends than their Enemies; and our Diſcontents were ſo great at Land, that the Aſſembling of our Militia to defend our Coaſts, was thought as dangerous as an Invaſion. But that which moſt preſs'd His Majeſty to the Thoughts of a Peace, was the Reſolution of *Spain* to de-

declare the War with *England*, as they had done already with *France*, in favour of *Holland*, unleſs the Peace were ſuddenly made; which would have been ſuch a blow to our Trade, as could not eaſily have been fenc'd; and loſt us that of the *Mediterranean*, as the *Dutch* War had done that of the *Northern* Seas: So as the Neceſſity of this Conjuncture was only kept off by the Honour of our Alliance with *France*. However that Crown being not able to furniſh Supplies enough to carry on the War without a Parliament, could not oppoſe the calling one upon this Occaſion. When the Parliament met, tho' they ſeem'd willing to give the King Money, yet it was to make the Peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the War: And upon his Majeſty's demanding their Advice, they gave it unanimouſly, That the Peace ſhould be made.

There were too many Parties engag'd in this Quarrel to think of a General Peace, tho' a Treaty to that purpoſe had been ſet on foot at *Cologn*, under the Mediation of the *Swedes*, between the Miniſters of the Emperor, *Spain*, *Holland*, and ſome Princes of the Empire on the one part, and His Majeſty and *France* on

the other, but without any the leaſt Appearance of Succeſs. For tho' all the Confederates had a mind to the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, yet none of them deſired it with *France*. This made both the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* ſet on foot all the Engines they could, to engage His Majeſty in ſome Treaty of a ſeparate Peace, to which the Neceſſity of his Affairs, the Humour of his People, and the Inſtances of his Parliament at laſt determined him towards the end of the Year 1673.

Upon the firſt Meeting of the Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to ingratiate himſelf with the Houſe of Commons (whoſe ill Humour began to appear againſt thoſe they eſteemed the chief Authors of the War) had deſired leave of that Houſe that he might be heard there in his own defence upon that Subject. In his Speech, among many Endeavours to throw the Odium of the War from himſelf upon my Lord *Arlington*, he deſired that Lord might be ask'd who was the Author of the Tripple-Alliance? as if he underſtood himſelf to be ſo. The Lord *Arlington* coming afterwards upon the like Deſire, into the ſame Houſe of Commons, and anſwering

ing ſome parts of the Duke's Speech; when he came to that Particular, he told them he could eaſily anſwer that Queſtion of the Duke's, by telling them that the Author of that Alliance was Sir *William Temple*. This, I ſuppoſe, gave the occaſion for Reflections upon what had paſs'd in the Courſe of my former Ambaſſies in *Holland*, and at *Aix*; and his Majeſty, and his Miniſters, the Reſolution to ſend for me out of my private Retreat, where I had paſs'd two Years (as I intended to do the reſt of my Life) and to engage me in going over into *Holland* to make the ſeparate Peace with that State.

Upon the 2*d* of *February*, 167$\frac{1}{2}$, his Majeſty receiv'd the certain Advice of the States having paſs'd a Reſolution, That the Charges and Dignities poſſeſs'd by the Prince of *Orange* and his Anceſtors, ſhould become hereditary to his Children. And at the ſame time he alſo receiv'd a Letter from the States, with the Deſire of Paſsports, for the Ambaſſadors, whom they were reſolv'd to ſend to his Majeſty with Inſtructions and Powers to treat and conclude a Peace; and in the mean time they offer'd a Suſpenſion of Arms. This Offer coming

upon the neck of the Parliaments advice to His Majesty to enter into Treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon the Propositions he had advanc'd, and which the King had order'd to be sent to the Parliament. It was not believ'd by the Ministers, that a Treaty could be refused without drawing too much odium upon themselves, and reflection upon the Government. On the other side, it was suspected what Practices might be set on foot by *Dutch* Ambassadors, upon the general Discontent reigning against the present War. Therefore that very Afternoon a Resolution was taken at the private Juncto, to send, rather than to receive an Ambassy upon this Subject; and that I should be the Person imploy'd. Two Gentlemen were sent to my House within half an Hour of one another, from the Earl of *Danby*, then Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Arlington*, first Secretary of State, to order my Attendance upon His Majesty. My Lord *Arlington* told me, he would not pretend the Merit of having nam'd me upon this occasion, nor could he well tell, whether the King or Lord Treasurer did it first; but that the whole Committee had join'd in it, and concluded, That since

ſince the Peace was to be made, there was no other Perſon to be thought of for it: And accordingly the King gave me his Commands, with many Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Confidence, to prepare for my Journey, and the Secretary to draw up my Inſtructions. I told the King I would obey him, and with a great deal of Pleaſure to ſee his Majeſty returning to the Meaſures upon which I had formerly ſerv'd him; but that I might do it the better, I begg'd of him that I might go over without the Character of Ambaſſador, which would delay, or embarraſs me with Preparations of Equipage, and with Ceremonies there, that were unneceſſary to ſo ſudden a Diſpatch. His Majeſty thought what I ſaid very pertinent, and ſo order'd, that I ſhould go only as Plenipotentiary; but that I ſhould have in all kinds the Appointment of Ambaſſador, and that I ſhould take upon me the Character too when the Peace was concluded.

Within three Days I was ready; and the Morning my Diſpatches were ſo too, the Marqueſs of *Frezno*, *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, ſent my Lord *Arlington* word (while I was with him) that he had receiv'd full Power from the States

to Treat and Conclude a Peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever his Majeſty pleas'd. My Lord *Arlington* ſurpriz'd, was at firſt of opinion the King ſhould go on in his own way, and I my Journey, and give the *Spaniards* no part in the Affair; I was of another mind, and that beſides the Point of Honour, which was clear, in having the Peace made rather at *London* than the *Hague*, I thought That of Intereſt might be the better purſued, when we were ſought to by the States, than when we ſought to them: Beſides, I believed the *Spaniard* would play us fair in a Game that he thought ſo much his own, and not ſuffer the *Dutch* to ſtop at any ſmall Points, eſpecially thoſe of Honour, whereas that of the Flag (tho' ſuch) was one his Majeſty ought to lay moſt to heart. My Lord *Arlington*, after ſome debate, agreed with me, and deſir'd me to go immediately and acquaint the King with this new and unexpected Incident, who was then at the Houſe of Lords. The King ſeem'd pleas'd with the Change, and told me, that ſince I did not treat it at the *Hague*, I ſhould however at *London*; and bid me go and acquaint the Marqueſs of *Freſno* with his Reſolution,

lution, That if he and I could agree upon the Terms, the thing ſhould ſoon be done.

The Terms to be inſiſted on were ſoon agreed by His Majeſty at the Foreign Committee, which was compos'd of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Arlington*, and Mr. *Henry Coventry*, Secretaries of State, with whom His Majeſty order'd my Attendance upon this Affair. When I was inſtructed of His Majeſty's Pleaſure, I went to the Marqueſs of *Frezno*, and at three Meetings I concluded the whole Treaty with Satisfaction to His Majeſty, and Tranſport to the Marqueſs, upon ſo great an Honour as he thought it to himſelf, and the Fortunes he expected upon it from his Maſter. The Articles being publick, need no place here. The two Points of greateſt difficulty were, that of the Flag, and the recalling all *Engliſh* Troops out of the *French* Service. This laſt was compos'd by private Engagements to ſuffer thoſe that were there to wear out without any Recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over; but at the ſame time to give leave for ſuch Levies as the States ſhould think fit to make in His Majeſty's Dominions, both of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regi-

Regiments. The other of the Flag was carried to all the Height His Majesty could wish, and thereby a Claim of the Crown, the Acknowledgment of its Dominion in the Narrow Seas, allow'd by Treaty from the most powerful of our Neighbours at Sea, which had never yet been yielded to by the weakest of them that I remember in the whole Course of our Pretence; and had serv'd hitherto but for an Occasion of quarrel, whenever We or They had a mind to it, upon other Reasons or Conjectures. Nothing, I confess, had ever given me a greater Pleasure in the greatest publick Affairs I had run through, than this Success, as having been a Point I ever had at heart, and in my Endeavours, to gain upon my first Negotiations in *Holland*; but found Monsieur *De Wit* ever inflexible, though he agreed with me, that it would be a Rock upon which our firmest Alliances would be in danger to strike, and to split whenever other Circumstances fell in to make either of the Parties content to alter the Measures we had entred into upon the Tripple Alliance. The Sum of Money given his Majesty by the States, though it was not considerable in it self, and less to the King, by the greatest part of

of it being applied to the Prince of *Orange*'s Satisfaction for his Mother's Portion, that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole Honour of the Peace, as the Sum given by the Parliament upon it, and the general Satisfaction of his People made the Eaſe of it. And thus happily ended our part of a War ſo fatal to the reſt of *Chriſtendom* in the Conſequences of it, which no Man perhaps now alive will ſee the End of, and had been begun and carried on as far as it would go, under the Miniſtry of five Men, who were uſually called *The Cabal*; a Word unluckily falling out of the five firſt Letters of their Names, that is, *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Bucingham*, *Aſhley*, and *Lauderdale*. But though the Counſels and Conduct of theſe Men had begun the War with two unuſual Strains to the Honour of the Crown, in the Attaque of the *Smyrna* Fleet, and ſtopping up the Bank; yet it muſt be allow'd them to have ſucceeded well in the Honours they propos'd to themſelves: *Clifford* having gain'd by it the Place of High-Treaſurer and Title of a Baron; *Aſhley* the Chancellor's Place, and an Earldom; *Arlington* an Earldom, with the Garter; and *Lauderdale* a Dukedom, with the Garter.

The

The Duke of *Buckingham* being already poſſeſt of all the Honours the Crown could give of that kind, contented himſelf to make no better a bargain in this matter, than he uſed to do in all others that concern'd him, and ſo pretended no further than Commands in the Army. And thus, inſtead of making ſo great a King as they pretended by this *Dutch* War and *French* Alliance, they had the Honour of making only four great Subjects.

After the Peace was made, His Majeſty's firſt Care was to ſoften the Stroke as much as he could towards *France*; which was done by repreſenting the Neceſſities of it (that needed no falſe Colours) and at the ſame time to offer his Mediation between the Parties remaining ſtill in the War, in caſe *France* either deſir'd or accepted of it; which took up ſome time to determine. In the mean while I continu'd in the Poſture and Thoughts of the private Man I was in before this Revolution, till about a Week after the whole Concluſion of it, when my Lord *Arlington* told me how kindly the King took of me both the readineſs I had expreſs'd in going over into *Holland*, and the Eaſineſs I ſhew'd upon the failing of

that

that Commiſſion, as well as the Pains and Succeſs in the Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; and not knowing any thing better he had to give me, he was reſolv'd to ſend me Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Spain*; and to that purpoſe immediately to recal Sir *William Godolphin*, the Ordinary Ambaſſador there for many Reaſons that he ſaid, made it neceſſary in this Conjuncture.

I acknowledg'd the Honour His Majeſty intended me, but deſir'd time to give my Anſwer till I had conſulted my Father upon it, who was then in *Ireland*, but in the Intention of coming ſuddenly over; however, in a Month I undertook to reſolve. My Lord *Arlington* told me, he did not expect any Demur upon ſuch an Offer, which he took to be of the beſt Employment the King had to give; and therefore he had already acquainted the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador with it, who receiv'd it with great Joy, and reſolv'd immediately to give part of it to the Court at *Madrid*, which he was ſure was already done, and therefore he would reckon upon it as a thing concluded, though for the good Grace of it to my Father, he undertook the King would give me the time I ask'd to reſolve. When I writ to my

my Father upon this Subject, he was so violent against my charging my self with this Ambassy, that I could not find any Temper to satisfie him, and upon it was forc'd to make my Excuses to the King. When I did so, His Majesty was pleas'd to assure me he did not at all take it ill of me; and that, on the contrary, he intended me a better Employment; That he was at present engag'd for the Secretary's Place, upon my Lord *Arlington*'s Removal to Chamberlain; but that he resolv'd the next Removal should be to make room for me. This I told my Lord *Arlington*, who presently said, that he believ'd I could not refuse the *Spanish* Ambassy, but upon design of the Secretary's Place; and since I desir'd it, and the King fell into it of himself, he would play the easiest Part in it that he could. He was indeed agreed with Sir *Joseph Williamson* for 6000 *l.* and the King had consented that he should enter upon it at his Return from *Cologn*, which was every day expected; but yet he made such a difference between the Persons, that he would find some way to avoid it, in case I would lay down the 6000 *l.* I assur'd his Lordship, I had no such Design, nor such a Sum of Money to lay down while my

my Father enjoyed the Estate of the Family; That if I had, I should be very unwilling to pursue it so far as to give his Lordship any strain in a Matter already promis'd and concluded; and therefore desir'd him to think no further of it. But he was not of Opinion I could stick at any thing but the Money, and acquainted Mr. *Montague* and Mr. *Sidney*, who were Friends to us both, with this Transaction, and set them upon me to bring it to an Issue before the other came over: they both endeavour'd it with great Instances; and Mr. *Montague* was so kind as to offer to lend me the Money; but I was positive in refusing it; yet at the same time I told my Lord *Arlington*, That, not to seem humourous, in declining the Offers he had made me from the King or from himself, I was content they should both know, that if his Majesty had occasion to send an Ambassy into *Holland* upon the Peace, I would very willingly serve him there, where I knew the Scene so well. So that Matter slept for the present.

In the mean while *France* had thought fit to accept and approve the King's offer of Mediation, That of *Sweden* being ended by the Assembly at *Cologn's* break-

breaking up, in Expostulations and Quarrels upon the Emperor's seizing the Person of Prince *William* of *Furstenburgh*, a Subject of the Empire, but an Instrument of *France*, as his Brother the Bishop of *Strasburgh* had been in all the late Designs and Invasions of that Crown upon their Neighbours. The King told me, That being resolved to offer his Mediation to all the Confederates, as he has done already to *France*; and finding I had no mind to engage in either of those Imployments which had of late been offer'd me, he was resolved to send me Ambassador Extraordinary into *Holland*, to offer His Mediation there, as the Scene of the Confederates Common-Councils, and by their means to endeavour the acceptance of it by the rest of the Princes concerned in the War. That I knew the Place and Persons better than any Man, and could do him more Service both in this, and continuing all good Correspondency between Him and the States, which he was resolved to preserve: That I should have the Character of Ambassador Extraordinary, and the same Allowance I should have had in *Spain*. Upon this Offer, I made no Demur, but immediately accepted it, and so my Ambassy was declared in *May* 1674. But

But to make way for my entring upon this great Scene, it will be neceſſary to deduce in ſhort, the courſe of Affairs abroad from the firſt Period of the preſent War, to this ſecond of his Majeſty's ſeparate Peace with *Holland*, and the ſeveral diſpoſitions among the Parties that were likely to facilitate or to croſs the deſign of the King's intended Mediation.

No clap of Thunder in a fair froſty day, could more aſtoniſh the World, than our Declaration of War againſt *Holland* in 1672; firſt by matter of Fact, in falling upon their *Smyrna* Fleet, and in conſequence of that (however it fail'd) by a formal Declaration, in which we gave reaſons for our Quarrel, while *France* contented themſelves to give no other for their part of it, than only the Glory of that King. The *Dutch* could never be poſſeſt with a belief that we were in earneſt, till the blow was given, but thought our unkindneſs and expoſtulations of late, would end at laſt either in demands of Money, or the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſtitution to the Authority of his Anceſtors. The Princes concern'd in their Safety, could not believe, that after having ſav'd *Flanders* out of the hands of *France*, we would ſuffer *Hol-*

land to fall into the ſame danger; and my Lord *Arlington* told me at that time, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themſelves, till the Blow was ſtruck in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet. But then they immediately ſet out their Declaration, and began their Invaſion. This ſurprize made way for their prodigious ſucceſſes. The *Dutch* had made no proviſion for their Defence, either at Home or Abroad; and the Empire, *Spain*, and *Sueden*, ſtood at a gaze, upon the opening of the War, not knowing upon what Concerts between us and *France* it was begun, nor how far we would ſuffer it to go on upon the *French* Conqueſts. Beſides, the Animoſities of the Parties in *Holland*, long expreſs'd under their new Conſtitution, and *De Witt*'s Miniſtry, began to flame again upon this misfortune of their State. The Prince's Friends talk'd loud and boldly, that there was no way to ſatisfie *England*, but reſtoring the Prince; and that the Baſeneſs and Cowardice of their Troops, were the effects of turning out all Officers of Worth and Bravery for their Inclinations to the Prince, and mean Fellows brought in for no other deſert, than their Enmity declar'd to the Houſe of *Orange*. Upon this,

this, all Men expected a ſudden Change; the States were in diſorder, and irreſolute what to do; the Troops were without a General, and, which is worſe, without heart; and tho *De Ruytor* by admirable Conduct kept the Infection of theſe Evils out of his Fleet, which was our part to deal with; yet Faction, Diſtruſt, Sedition and Diſtraction, made ſuch entrances upon the State and the Army, when the *French* Troops firſt invaded them, that of all the Towns and Fortreſſes on the *German*-ſide (held impregnable in all their former Wars) not one beſides *Maſtricht* made any ſhew of Reſiſtance, and the *French* became immediately Maſters of all the In-land Parts of the Provinces, in as little time as Travellers uſually employ to ſee and conſider them. *Maſtricht* was taken, after a ſhort Siege, as *Skinſconce*, by the help of an extreme dry Seaſon, that made Rivers fordable where they had never been eſteem'd ſo before. The King of *France* marcht as far as *Utrecht*, where he fix'd his Camp and his Court, and from thence began to conſider of the ways how to poſſeſs himſelf of the reſt, which was defended only by their Situation upon ſome flat Lands; that, as they had by infinite

labour in Canals and Digues, been either gain'd or preſerv'd from Inundations, ſo they were ſubject to them upon opening the Sluces, whenever the *Dutch* found no other way of *ſaving* their Country, but by *loſing* it. This, at leaſt, was generally believ'd in the *French* Camp and Court; and, as I have heard, was the Preſervation of the State: For that King unwilling to venture the Honour and Advantage of ſuch Conqueſts as he had made that Summer, upon the hazards of a new ſort of War with a mercileſs Element, where neither Conduct nor Courage were of uſe, reſolv'd to leave the reſt to practices of Peace with the States, upon the advantage of the terms he ſtood in, and the ſmall diſtance of place between them; or, if theſe ſhould not ſucceed, then he truſted to the Froſts of the following Winter, which ſeldom fail in that Country to make all paſſable and ſafe for Troops and Carriages themſelves, that in Summer would be impaſſable, either from the Waters, or the depth of Soil.

In the mean time the State and the Government of *Holland* took a new Form, and with it a new Heart. Monſieur *De Witt* and his Brother had been Maſſacred

ſacred by the ſudden fury of the People at the *Hague*, and by the Fate of Miniſters that govern by a Party or Faction, who are uſually ſacrificed to the firſt great Misfortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general Diſcontents at home. The fact and the manner having been very unuſual, may be the Subject of others enquiry, as it was of mine, which gave me this account. The *Ruart* of *Putten*, Eldeſt Brother to Monſieur *De Witt*, had been accuſed of a deſign upon the Prince's Life, and of endeavouring by Money to engage one of his Highneſs's Domeſtiques in that Attempt. But no other Witneſs appearing, he was ſentenc'd only to be Baniſh'd, at which the People ſhew'd great diſſatisfaction, being poſſeſt with an Opinion of his Guilt. The Morning he was to come out of Priſon, Monſieur *De Witt* (againſt the Opinion of His Friends) would needs go himſelf to bring him out with more Honour, and carry him out of Town, and to that purpoſe went with his Coach and four Horſes to the Court. This being not uſual to this Miniſter, made the People take more notice of it, and gather together tumultuouſly firſt in the Streets

where he paſſed, and then about the Court where the Priſoner was kept. Some of the Train'd Bands of the *Hague* that were upon the Guard, mingled among them, and began to rail aloud againſt the Judgment of the Court, the Crime of one Brother, and the Inſolence of the Other, who pretended (as they ſaid) to carry him away in Triumph. In the midſt of this Heat and Paſſion rais'd by theſe kind Diſcourſes among the Populace, the two Brothers came out, ſome of the Train'd Bands ſtop'd them, began to treat them at firſt with ill Language, and from Words fell to Blows; upon which, Monſieur *De Witt* foreſeeing how the Tragedy would end, took his Brother by the hand, and was at the ſame time knock'd down with the butt-end of a Muſket. They were both preſently laid dead upon the place, then drag'd about the Town by the Fury of the People, and Torn in pieces. Thus ended one of the greateſt Lifes of any Subject in our Age, and about the 47*th.* year of his own, after having Serv'd or rather Adminiſtred that State as Pentioner of *Holland* for about eighteen years, with great Honour to his Countrey and himſelf. After the Death of theſe Bro-

Brothers, the Provinces and Towns run with Unanimous Voices into Publick demands of the Prince's being reſtored to the Authority of his Anceſtors. The States had in the beginning of the year declar'd him Captain General, and Admiral of Their Forces, which was no more than *De Witt* had always profeſt was deſigned for him, when he ſhould be of Age; but this was found neither to have ſatsified *England*, nor the Prince's Party at home, and therefore all the Members of the State agreed in thoſe Acts that were thought neceſſary to a full Reſtitution of his Highneſs, now at the Age of Twenty one Years, to the Office and Power of Stadtholder, with all advantages, and even ſome more than thoſe which had been exercis'd by his Anceſtors. At the ſame time Monſieur *Fagel* was introduc'd into Monſieur *De Witt*'s Place of Pentioner of *Holland*, whoſe love to his Country made him a Lover of the Prince, as believing it could not be ſaved by any other Hand, and whoſe Zeal to his own Religion, made him an Enemy irreconcilable to *France*, whoſe Profeſſions as well as Deſigns were to deſtroy it.

This Revolution, as it calm'd all at Home, ſo it made the firſt Appearance of defending what was left of the Countrey. The State grew United, the Army in heart, and Foreign Princes began to take Confidence in the Honour and Conſtancy of the Young Prince, which they had in a manner wholly loſt upon the Diviſions and Misfortunes of the State. The *French* themſelves turn'd all their Applications and Practices the ſame way, and made the Prince all the Offers that could be of Honour and Advantages to his Perſon and Family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The Bait they thought could not fail of being ſwallow'd, and about which moſt Artifice was imploy'd, was the Propoſal of making the Prince Soveraign of the Provinces under the Protection of *England* and *France*. And to ſay truth, at a time when ſo little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in ſo eminent danger upon the firſt Froſts of the Winter, this ſeem'd a lure to which a meaner Soul than that of this Prince might very well ſtoop. But his was above it, and his Anſwers always

always firm, That he never would betray a Truſt that was given him, nor ever ſell the Liberties of his Countrey, that his Anceſtors had ſo long defended. Yet the Game he play'd, was then thought ſo deſperate, that one of his neareſt Servants told me he had long expoſtulated it with his Maſter, and ask'd him at laſt, how he pretended to live, after *Holland* was loſt? and whether he had thought ſo far? The Prince told him he had, and that he was reſolv'd to live upon the Lands he had left in *Germany*; and that he had rather paſs his life in Hunting there, than ſell his Countrey or his Liberty to *France* at any Price. I will ſay nothing of the Ambaſſy ſent at this time by his Majeſty to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, where the Three Ambaſſadors, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Arlington*, and Lord *Halifax* found him in his higheſt Exaltation; for I cannot pretend to know what the true ends or ſubject of it was. The common belief in *England* and *Holland* made it to be our jealouſie of the *French* Conqueſts going ſo faſt, whilſt ours were ſo lame; and great hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to ſtop their Courſe or Extent; but

but theſe were ſoon daſh'd by the return of the Ambaſſadors, after having renew'd and faſten'd the Meaſures formerly taken between the two Crowns. And the Ambaſſadors were indeed content as they paſt through *Holland*, that the firſt ſhould be thought; which gave occaſion for a very good Repartee of the Princes Dowager to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who viſited her as they paſs'd through the *Hague*, and talking much of their being good *Hollanders*, ſhe told him, that was more than they ask'd, which was only, That they ſhould be good *Engliſh-men*; he aſſur'd her, they were not only ſo, but good *Dutch-men* too; that indeed they did not uſe *Holland* like a Miſtreſs, but they lov'd her like a Wife; to which ſhe replied, *Vrayment je croy que vous nous aymez comme vous aymés la vôtres.*

In truth, I think you love us as you do yours.

When *France* loſt all hopes of ſhaking the Prince of *Orange*'s Conſtancy, they bent all their thoughts upon ſubduing and ruining the remainder of the Countrey. They had advanc'd as far as *Worden*, and from thence they made their ravages within two or three Leagues of *Leyden*, with more violences and cruelties

ties than would have been prudent, if they had hop'd to reclaim the Prince or States from the obſtinacy of their defence. The Prince Encamp'd his Army near *Bodgrave*, between *Leyden* and *Worden*, and there made ſuch a ſtand with a handful of men, as the *French* could never force. The Winter prov'd not favourable to their hopes and deſigns, and ſome promiſes of Froſts inveigled them into Marches that prov'd almoſt fatal to them by a ſudden thaw. This frighted them into Cautions, perhaps more than were neceſſary, and gave the Prince and States leiſure to take their meaſures for a following Campagne, with the Emperor, *Spain*, and the Duke of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh*, which prov'd a diverſion to the Arms of *France*, and turn'd part of them upon *Germany* and *Flanders*, ſo as to give over the Progreſs any further in *Holland*. Upon the approach of the Winter, the Prince, after having taken *Narden*, three Leagues from *Amſterdam*, in ſpight of all reſiſtance and oppoſition from either the *French* or the Seaſon, reſolv'd, like another young *Scipio*, to ſave his Countrey by abandoning it, and to avoid ſo many Sieges, as all the

the Towns they had loſt would coſt to recover; He contented himſelf to leave the chief Poſt guarded with a part of the Army, and with the reſt marched into *Germany*, joyn'd part of the Confederate Troops, beſieg'd *Bonne*, which had been put into the hands of *France* at the beginning of the War, wherein the Elector of *Cologn*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter* had entred jointly with *France*. The boldneſs of this Action amaz'd all men, but the Succeſs extoll'd the Prudence as well as the Bravery of it; for the Prince took *Bonne*, and by it open'd a paſſage for the *German* Forces over the *Rhine*, and ſo into *Flanders*, and gave ſuch a damp to the Deſigns and Enterprizes of *France*, that they immediately abandon'd all their Conqueſts upon *Holland* in leſs time than they made them, retaining only *Maſtricht* and the *Grave*, of all they had poſſeſt belonging to this State.

In this poſture ſtood Affairs abroad when the Peace of *England* was made in *February* 167½, upon the ſtrength and heart whereof the Prince of *Orange* concerted with the *German* and *Spaniſh* Troops to begin an offenſive War, and in the Head of an Army of above Forty

Forty Thouſand Men, to march into *France*.

The *French* began now to wiſh the War well ended, and were very glad to accept his Majeſty's Mediation. The King was deſirous to make *France* ſome amends for abandoning the Party, and making a ſeparate Peace. Some of his Miniſters foreſaw he would be Arbiter of the Peace by being Mediator, and that he might hinder any ſeparate Treaties, by mediating a general one, and might reſtore Peace to Chriſtendom whenever he thought fit, and upon what Conditions he thought ſafe and juſt.

The only difficulties that appeared in this Affair, were what the Confederates were like to make in accepting the King's Mediation, whoſe late engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that ſide. And the Houſe of *Auſtria* finding that Crown now abandon'd by *England*, had too greedily, ſwallow'd the hopes of a revenge upon them, to deſire any ſudden Treaty till the Succeſſes they expected in the War might at leaſt make way for reducing *France* to the Terms of that at the *Pyrenees*. This, I ſuppoſe, gave ſome occaſion for my being again

deſign'd

design'd for this Ambassy, who was thought to have some credit with *Spain* as well as *Holland* from the Negotiations I had formerly run through at the *Hague*, *Brussels* and *Aix la Chapelle*, by which the remaining parts of *Flanders* had been sav'd out of the hands of *France* in the Year 1668.

But having often reflected upon the unhappy Issue of my last Publick Employments, and the fatal turn of Councels in our Court that had occasion'd it, against so many wiser mens Opinions, as well as my own; I resolv'd, before I went this Journey, to know the ground upon which I stood, as well as I could, and to sound it, by finding out what I was able of the King's true Sentiments and Dispositions, as to the Measures he had now taken, or rather renew'd, and trust no more to those of his Ministers, who had deceiv'd either Me or themselves. Therefore, at a long Audience in his Closet, I took occasion to reflect upon the late Councels and Ministry of the late Cabal, how ill his Majesty had been advis'd to break Measures and Treaties so solemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been serv'd, and how ill succeeded, by the violent humour of the Nation's breaking out

out againſt ſuch Proceedings, and by the Jealouſies they had rais'd againſt the Crown. The King ſaid, 'Twas true, he had ſucceeded ill; but if he had been well ſerv'd, he might have made a good buſineſs enough of it; and ſo went on a good deal to juſtifie what was paſt. I was ſorry to find ſuch a preſage of what might again return from ſuch a courſe of thought in the King, and ſo went to the bottom of that matter. I ſhew'd how difficult, if not impoſſible, it was to ſet up here the ſame Religion or Government that was in *France*; That the univerſal bent of the Nation was againſt Both; That many who were, perhaps, indifferent enough in the matter of Religion, conſider'd it would not be chang'd here but by force of an Army; and that the ſame force which made the King Maſter of their Religion, made him Maſter of their Liberties and Fortunes too. That in *France* there was none to be conſider'd but the Nobles and the Clergy; That if a King could engage them in his deſigns, he had no more to do; for the Peaſants having no Land, were as inſignificant in the Government, as the Women and Children are here. That on the contrary, the great

great bulk of Land in *England* lies in the hands of the Yeomanry or lower Gentry, and their Hearts are high by eaſe and plenty, as thoſe of the *French* Peaſantry are wholly diſpirited by labour and want. That the Kings of *France* are very great in poſſeſſions of Land, and in dependances by ſuch vaſt numbers of Offices both Military and Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical; whereas thoſe of *England* having few Offices to beſtow, having parted with their Lands, their Court of Wards and Knights Services, have no means to raiſe or keep Armies on foot, but by ſupplies from their Parliaments, nor Revenues to maintain any foreign War by other ways. That if they had an Army on Foot, yet if compos'd of *Engliſh*, they would never ſerve ends that the People hated and fear'd. That the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* were not the hundredth part of the Nation; and in *Scotland*, not the two hundredth; and it ſeem'd againſt all common ſenſe, to think by one part to govern Ninety nine that were of contrary minds and humours. That for foreign Troops, if they were few, they would ſignifie nothing but raiſe to hatred and diſcontent; and how to raiſe to bring

over

over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine. That the Force ſeeming neceſſary to ſubdue the Liberties and Spirits of this Nation, could not be eſteem'd leſs than an Army of threeſcore thouſand Men, ſince the *Romans* were forced to keep twelve Legions to that purpoſe, the *Norman* to inſtitute Sixty two thouſand Knights Fees, and *Cromwell* left an Army of near Eighty thouſand Men. That I never knew but one Foreigner that underſtood *England* well, which was *Gourville*, (whom I knew the King eſteem'd the ſoundeſt Head of any *French-man* he had ever ſeen;) That when I was at *Bruſſels* in the firſt *Dutch* War, and he heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he ſaid, The King had nothing to do but to make the Peace; That he had been long enough in *England*, ſeen enough of our Court, and People, and Parliaments, to conclude, *Qu'un Roy d' Angleterre qui veut eſtre l'homme de ſon peuple, eſt le plus grand Roy du monde; mais s'il veut eſtre quelque choſe d'avantage, par Dieu il n'eſt plus rien.*

That a King of *England* who will be the MAN of his People, is the greateſt King in the World; but if he will be ſomething more,——he is nothing at all.

The King heard me all very attentively, but seem'd a little impatient at first: Yet, at last, he said, I had reason in all, and so had *Gourville*; and laying his hand upon mine, he added, *Et je veux estre l'homme de mon peuple.*

And I will be the MAN of my People

My Ambassy Extraordinary to *Holland* was declared in *May*, and my Dispatches finish'd at the Treasury as well as the Secretary's Office; so as I went away in *July*. My Instructions were in general, To assure the States of his Majesty's Friendship, and firm Resolution to observe his Treaties with them; then to offer his Mediation in the present War, which both They, and almost all *Christendom*, were engag'd in; and after their acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewise with all their Allies; and, to that end, to engage the Offices and Intervention of the States. But immediately after my arrival at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of *Orange*, give him part of His Majesty's Intentions in all this Affair, and assurance of his kindness, and engage His Highness, as far as could be, to second His Majesty's desires, in promoting a General Peace, wherein the *United Provinces* seem'd to have the greatest Interest.

After

After my arrival at the *Hague* in *July* 1674 and a delivery of my Credentials to the Preſident of the Week, and a Viſit to the Pentioner, wherein I diſcover'd a ſtrong Inclination in the States to a Peace, as far as their Honour and Engagements to their Allies would allow them, and was aſſur'd of the States accepting His Majeſty's Mediation; I went away to *Antwerp*, in hopes to have found the Prince at his Camp there, between *Antwerp* and *Lovain*, where he had lain ſome time attending the Advance of the Confederate Troops, with whom he had concerted to joyn his Army upon their arrival in *Flanders*. But two days before I came to *Antwerp*, the Army was march'd beyond *Lovain*, ſo as I was forc'd to go to *Bruſſels*, and there deſire a Guard to convey me to the Camp. The Punctilio's of my Character would not ſuffer me to ſee the Count *Montery*, tho' I had for ſome years liv'd at *Bruſſels* in particular Friendſhip and Converſation with him. Few Strangers had perhaps ever been better us'd than I, during three years Reſidence at *Bruſſels*, by all Perſons of Quality, and indeed of all Ranks there; ſo that it was very ſurprizing to me, to meet ſuch a dry and cold Treatment

from the Governour, and such an Affectation in the Persons of Quality, not so much as to visit me; for I do not remember one that did it, besides Count *d'Egmont*, who was then not very well at Court, either in *Spain* or *Flanders*. Others that I met in the Streets, or the Park, tho they came with open arms to embrace me, yet never came at me, but contented themselves with saying, they intended it. When I sent my Secretary to the Count *Montery*, with my Compliments, and Desires of a Guard to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then not above six Leagues off; he return'd the first very coldly, and the other with Excuses that amounted to a Refusal; he said the way was so dangerous by straggling Parties of the Army, that he could not advise me to venture with a small Guard; and he had drawn out so many of the *Spanish* Troops into the Field, that he could not give me a great one. I sent again, to desire what he could spare me, let the number be what it would; for tho I would not expose the Kings Character nor his Business, by any Accident I might prevent; yet when I had endeavour'd it by my Application to his Excellence, I would take my

my fortune, tho he ſent me but ſix of his Guards. He replied, That he could not poſſibly ſpare any of them; but that next morning he expected a Troop of Horſe to come into Town, and that as ſoon as it arrived, the Captain ſhould have order to attend me. Next morning was put off till night, and night to the morning following; when the Count finding I was reſolved to go, tho without Convoy, rather than to expect longer, ſent me a *Spaniſh* Captain with about forty Horſe, to convey me to *Louvain*. The truth was, that the *Spaniards* were grown ſo jealous of His Majeſties Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*, of the States and Peoples violent Humour to a Peace in *Holland*, and of the Offices they thought I might uſe, to ſlacken the Prince of *Orange* in the vigorous Proſecution of their preſent Hopes and Deſigns, that I found it was reſolv'd to delay firſt, and then to hinder abſolutely any Interview between the Prince and me till the Campagn was ended, but to do it with as little ill Grace as they could. To this purpoſe *Du Moulin* (then one of the Prince's Secretaries, and inveterate Enemy againſt the Court in *England*) was diſpatched between the Camp and *Bruſſels*, whilſt I lay

there, and with Guards whereof half would have ſerv'd my turn, or at leaſt contented me.

When I came to *Lovain*, I found the Prince was march'd towards *Tirlemont*, but could not learn where his next halt was deſign'd. The *Spaniſh* Captain told me, he had order to go no further than *Lovain*. So that I neither knew whither to go, nor could go any way without a Guard, as they aſſur'd me at *Lovain*. Whereupon I ſent immediately Mr. *Bulſtrode*, who had come with me from *Bruſſels*, to endeavour to find out the Prince, and deſire him to appoint what Time and Place I ſhould attend his Highneſs, which I reſolv'd to do with thoſe few Servants I had brought with me, and ſuch others as I could hire at *Lovain*, where I lay that night.

The next morning Mr. *Bulſtrode* return'd with the Prince's Anſwer, That He was upon his March; That he ſhould be very glad to ſee me, but could not poſſibly appoint either time or place for it, becauſe his Motions were uncertain, and would depend upon the Advices He receiv'd. By which I found plainly what I had ſuſpected at *Bruſſels*, That it was reſolv'd I ſhould not ſee the Prince be-

before this Campagne was begun, by the Actions then concerted among the Confederates. I would not however ſeem to underſtand it ſo, nor any thing more in it, than what His Highneſs was pleas'd to ſay; but I knew very well, that as they ſay, None is more deaf than he that will not hear; ſo a man that will not be ſeen, may eaſily find ways of avoiding it, eſpecially upon ſuch Circumſtances as the Prince and I were then in, who muſt have follow'd the motions he would have given me. And therefore I reſolv'd not to expoſe either His Majeſty's Character or Credit with His Nephew, by making that publick which had paſs'd between the Prince and me upon this Subject; but pretending my health would not ſuffer me to follow the Prince upon His March, I return'd to *Antwerp*, and gave His Majeſty an Account of all that had paſs'd, who extreamly approv'd my Conduct in it; and that I preſs'd no further, a Point that I ſaw would not go; and that was taken by the Prince as well as Count *Montery*, ſo differently from what His Majeſty expected.

I ſtay'd only a Night at *Antwerp*, which paſs'd with ſo great Thunders and Lightnings, that I promis'd my ſelf a

very fair Day after it, to go back to *Rotterdam*, in the States Yacht, that ſtill attended me. The Morning prov'd ſo, but towards Evening the Sky grew foul, and the Seamen preſag'd ill Weather, and ſo reſolved to lie at Anchor before *Bergue ap Zoom*, the Wind being croſs and little. When the Night was fallen as black as ever I ſaw, it ſoon began to clear up, with the moſt violent Flaſhes of Lightning as well as Cracks of Thunder, that I believe have ever been heard in our Age and Climate. This continu'd all Night, and we felt ſuch a fierce Heat from every great Flaſh of Lightning, that the Captain apprehended it would fire his Ship. But about eight the next Morning the Wind changed, and came up with ſo ſtrong a Gale, that we came to *Rotterdam* in about four Hours, and there found all Mouths full of the Miſchiefs and Accidents that the laſt Night's Tempeſt had occaſioned both among the Boats and the Houſes, by the Thunder, Lightning, Hail, or Whirlwinds. But the Day after came Stories to the *Hague* from all parts, of ſuch violent Effects as were almoſt incredible: At *Amſterdam* they were deplorable, many Trees torn up by the Roots, Ships ſunk in the Harbour, and Boats

Boats in the Channels; Houſes beaten down, and ſeveral People were ſnatch'd from the Ground as they walk'd the Streets, and thrown into the Canals. But all was ſilenc'd by the Relations from *Utrecht*, where the Great and Ancient Cathedral was torn in Pieces by the Violences of this Storm; and the vaſt Pillars of Stone that ſupported it, were wreathed like a twiſted Club, having been ſo ſtrongly compos'd and cimented, as rather to ſuffer ſuch a Change of Figure than break in pieces, as other Parts of the Fabrick did; hardly any Church in the Town eſcap'd the Violence of this Storm; and very few Houſes without the Marks of it; Nor were the Effects of it leſs aſtoniſhing by the Relations from *France* and *Bruſſels*, where the Damages were infinite, as well from Whirlwinds, Thunder, Lightning, as from Hailſtones of prodigious Bigneſs.

At my Return to the *Hague*, I had long Converſations with the Pentioner, by which I gain'd the Lights neceſſary to diſcover the whole preſent Scene of Affairs and Pulſes of the ſeveral Confederates, in what related to the General Peace. I told him how much His Majeſty was ſatisfied, with that he had lately

lately made with the States, how much He was resolv'd to continue and to cultivate it. How much reason he had to be content with the posture that had left him in at Peace with all his Neighbours, while they were all at War. That advantages of Commerce from it, were enough to make him trouble himself no further about the Peace of Christendom, if his Goodness and Piety did not prevail more with Him, than His Interest. But that these, and the desire of a General Good, had perswaded Him to offer his Mediation in the Present Quarrels. That it had been already accepted by *France*; and that the Emperour and *Spain* had answer'd, they would consider of it in concert with their Allies. That the States Embassadors at *London*, had assur'd his Majesty Their Masters would be pleas'd with it, and doubted not their consent, that the Treaty should be at *London*; and that thereupon His Majesty had charg'd me with a Letter to the States, to offer them His Mediation. That I could not doubt Their Accepting it with the best Grace that could be, for I knew their Interest was to have a Peace, and not to disoblige the King. That if His Majesty were Par-

Partial to any Side, they ought to believe it would be to that wherein His own Nephew was so deeply concern'd; and the more because he offer'd his Offices towards a Peace, at a time when the Advantages and the Preparations for the War run so high on the *French* side, as He doubted the events might shew if it continued. That they knew his Interest would not suffer him to see *Flanders* lost; and that considering what had pass'd, His Honour would not suffer him to think of preserving it any other way than by that of a Peace. That he would be glad to see that Countrey left by the next Peace, in a better Posture of Defence than it was by the last; and the *Spanish* Territories lye closer and rounder than they were then left. That when this should be concluded, His Majesty would be ready to enter into the strongest Guaranties they could desire, and might with Honour enter into a War to preserve it, though He could not to obtain it. The Pentioner first gave me thanks for my good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the measures of Friendship that had interceded between His Majesty and them since the first breach; he applauded the

the King's Reſolution in ſo pious and generous an Offer; and acknowledg'd his Intereſt might lead him to other Diſpoſitions. That he doubted not the States Willingneſs to accept it; all the difference would be about the time, and the manner of doing it. As to this, he ſaid, they could not do it without the Communication at leaſt of their Allies; but would immediately give them part of his Majeſty's Offer, and the States Diſpoſitions to receive it. That for the Terms of a Peace, as to their own Parts, they would be content to make His Majeſty the Arbiter of it; That they had already recovered all the Towns they had loſt, except *Grave* and *Maſtricht*, the laſt of which was in ſome manner engaged to *Spain*, when it ſhould be recover'd; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good Account of it very ſoon, Orders being already gone to inveſt it. But he doubted whether their Allies would be ſo eaſie in their Expectations or Demands; and that 'twas impoſſible for the States to leave them who had ſaved their Countrey from Ruine, when two ſo great Kings had invaded them; nor to break the Treaties which they had made Offenſive with the Emperor,

ror, *Spain*, and *Brandenburgh*. That the Terms ſtipulated with *Spain* oblig'd them to reduce *France* to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*; but only a Reſerve was made by one Article, which was, unleſs it ſhould otherwiſe be agreed by conſent between them. That whatever *Spain* would be content with, ſhould ſatisfie them, though they were both equally ſenſible of the Deſigns and Ambition of *France*, as well as of their ill Talent to the States. That they could never hope for ſuch another Conjuncture, to reduce them to ſuch Bounds and Meaſures as might be ſafe to their Neighbours, and give quiet to Chriſtendom. That it was now an ill time to enter into the Terms of a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, becauſe he knew they ſhould have ill Grace to demand the Reſtitution of any Towns the *Spaniards* had loſt in *Flanders* by the laſt War, and given up by the Peace that ſucceeded it; and yet His Majeſty knew as well as they, that without it a Peace could neither be ſafe for *Flanders*, nor for *Holland*; nor conſequently for *England*. But he believ'd there would not paſs many Days before ſome deciſive Action would happen between the Armies

mines now not far distant in the Field, which would make room for the Negotiation of Peace that might succeed next Winter, in which His Majesty would find the Interests and Humours of a Trading Countrey, as theirs was, very strong, and dispos'd to press their Allies, as far as was possible, to facilitate so great and so good a Work. And for the rest of the Allies besides *Spain*, He had no reason to suspect any great difficulties would arise, so little having yet passed in the War between *France* and them.

The Pensioner was right in expecting some sudden Action between the Armies; for about the middle of *August* came the news of the Battle of *Seneffe*, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Prince of *Conde:* But it prov'd not an Action so decisive as was expected, between two Armies of so great Force, and so animated by the hatred and revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of the Commanders. The Success of this Fight was so differently reported by those engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the Victory, which each side challeng'd, and perhaps neither with any great reason.

The

The Confederates had for ſome days ſought a Battle with great deſire and endeavour; and the *French* avoided it with reſolution not to fight, unleſs upon evident advantage, whilſt both Armies lay near *Nivelle*, and not far diſtant from one another. The Reaſon of this was thought to be of one ſide, the ardour of the young Prince of *Orange*, to make way by a Victory into *France* it ſelf, and there revenge the Invaſion of his Countrey, and at the ſame time to make his firſt eſſay of a Pitch'd Battle, againſt ſo great and renown'd a General as the Prince of *Conde*. On the other ſide, this old Captain had too much Honour to loſe, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entring the Liſt with a Prince of three and twenty years old, bred up in the ſhade of a contrary Faction, till he was forc'd into the Field by the *French* Invaſion of his Countrey. Nor was the Advantage leſs on the *French* ſide, in the Reputation of their Troops, than of their General, compos'd of excellent Officers, choſen Soldiers, exactly diſciplin'd, long train'd for Action before they began it, and now fleſh'd by the uninterrupted Succeſſes of two Wars. But the *Dutch* Troops, when the

the Prince of *Orange* entered upon the Command, were old or lazy Soldiers, diſuſed with long Peace, and diſabled with young unskilful Officers (choſen by no other Merit, than that of a Faction againſt the Houſe of *Orange*) then filled up when the War broke out, with haſty and undiſtinguiſh'd Levies, and diſhearten'd with perpetual loſſes of Towns, and Defeats of Parties, during the two firſt Campagns. The Prince of *Conde* had another Reſtraint upon the uſual Boldneſs of his Nature in ſuch Occaſions, which was the ill Poſture he had been in at Court ſince this King's Reign, and in regard how much more he would have to anſwer for than another Man, upon any great Misfortune to his Army, which muſt have left the Way open for the Confederates to enter *France*, unregarded on that ſide by any ſtrong Frontier, ſo as no Man knew what Shake it might give to the Greatneſs of that Crown, with the Help of Great and General Diſcontents, whereof this Prince was thought to have his ſhare.

Upon theſe Diſpoſitions in the Generals, the Battle was for ſome time induſtriouſly ſought and avoided. Till the Prince of *Orange*, believing there was no way

way of coming to a Battle, but by the Siege of ſome place that might be thought worth the venture to relieve, broke up, and march'd away towards *Seneffe*; his Army divided into three Parts, whereof the *German* Troops, under the Count *De Souches*, had the Van; the *Spaniſh* under Prince *Vaudemont*, the Reer; and the *Dutch* under Count *Waldeck*, the main Battle; with whom the Prince marched, and commanded the whole Confederate Army.

The Prince of *Conde* obſerving their March, which was not far from one ſide of his Retrenchments; and that by the Straitneſs of ſome Paſſages they were forced to file off in ſmall Lines, ſtaid till the Van-guard and Main Body was over one of theſe Paſſes, and the Reer beginning to enter upon it, when he drew out his Men, and fell with great fierceneſs upon the Reer of the *Spaniards*, broke them with great Slaughter, and not much reſiſtance, took their Baggage, ſeveral Standards, and many Priſoners of Note. The Prince of *Orange*, upon notice of the *French* March towards the *Spaniſh* Troops, had ſent three Squadrons back to their Aſſiſtance, with all the diligence that could be; but the *Spa-*

niſh already broken brought the *Dutch* into diſorder by falling in among them; and the *French* purſuing with great Bravery, broke the *Dutch* Squadrons to pieces, killing or taking all their Commanders, and ſeveral Standards.

If the Prince of *Conde* had contented himſelf with this Succeſs and Execution, he had left no diſpute of a Victory; but lured on by the Hopes of one more entire, and belief, the *Dutch*, whom he eſteemed the worſt Troops, would not ſtand, after the *Spaniards* and a great part of their own were wholly routed, he followed the Chaſe, and drawing out his whole Army upon them, brought it to a ſet Battle, which was more than he intended. In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* marching to the Relief of the *Spaniards*, and the Squadrons he had ſent was at firſt invelop'd by his own flying Men, whom he could neither ſtop by Words nor Blows, by Promiſes nor Reproaches, till joyning the reſt of his own Forces that ſtood firm, and the Imperialiſts coming up to enforce them, the Battle began with as great Fury as any has been fought in the whole courſe of the Wars, continu'd ſo for about eight hours

till

till Sun-ſet, and about two hours after by Moon-light, till that failing too, the Fight ended, rather by the Obſcurity of the Night, than the Wearineſs or Weakneſs of either Side. The Prince of *Orange* in the whole Courſe of this Action, gave all Orders with ſuch Prudence, and Obſervance of all Advantages, led up his ſeveral Squadrons with that Bravery, made ſuch bold Stands againſt his own broken Troops, as well as againſt the Fierceneſs of their Purſuers, for ſix hours together in the hotteſt of the Fire; ſometimes charging into the midſt of the Enemies, ſometimes overborn by his own that fled, till he Rallied them, and led them back to the Charge, expos'd to more Danger than moſt private Soldiers in the Fleld; ſo that the old Count *de Souches* in his Letter to the States upon this Occaſion, told them, *That in the whole Courſe of the Action, the Prince had ſhewed the Conduct of an Old Experienc'd Commander, and the Valour of a* Cæſar. And indeed his Allies, his Friends, and his Enemies, agreed in giving him equal Glory from this Adventure: But He had more from none than from the Prince of *Conde's* Teſtimony, That *He had done like an old Captain in*

all, but only in venturing himself too much like a young Man. Yet this old General had done the same in this Day's Action, as much as the youngest Cavalier in his Army could do, when he found the Battle fought so desperately, and all at Stake; whereas 'tis certain that nothing could have given vigour to the *Dutch* Troops, after the first Rout, but the repeated Examples and Dangers of the Prince, and Shame of not following such a Leader in all the desperate Charges he made that Day, which both the Generals seem'd resolv'd to die rather than to lose.

As the Numbers were not much different when the Fight began, so were those esteem'd that fell in this Battle, and to reach about six or seven thousand on either side; but of the *French* many more Officers and Gentlemen than was usual in proportion to the Common Soldiers. When the Night parted the Armies, the *French* retir'd back to their former Quarters, and next Morning the Confederates marched to that which they design'd when they broke up the Day before. The Allies claim'd the Victory, because they were last upon the Field; and the *French* upon the greatest Number of Prisoners and

and Standards they carried away; but whoever had the Honour, they both felt the Loss.

After the Repair necessary in each Camp upon this sharp Encounter, each Army took the Field again, and gave a general Expectation of another Battle before the Campania ended: The Prince of *Orange* sought it all he could; but the Prince of *Conde* chose and fortified his Encampments so, as not to be forc'd to one without apparent disadvantages, and contented himself to observe the Motions of the Allies, to preserve the Towns of the *French* Conquests in *Flanders*, and prevent any Invasion of *France*, which was design'd this Summer with great Confidence by the Confederate Armies both on this side and that in *Alsace*, but with equal disappointment, unless it were to Monsieur *Starenburgh*, who in the Beginning of the Campagne, complaining of the Wine at the Prince's Table, the Prince told them, *He would make them drink good Wine in* Champagne *before the Summer ended.* He who lov'd it well, desired the Prince to be as good as his Word, was afterwards taken at the Battle of *Seneffe*, carried to *Rheims* with several *Dutch* Officers, where sitting

down to Dinner, and finding the Wine excellent, he drunk the Prince's Health, and ſaid, *He would truſt him as long as he liv'd, for he had kept his Word, and made them drink good Wine in* Champagne.

The Prince of *Orange* findinng no other way of Action, ſat down before *Oudenarde* in *September*, and had his End of drawing the Prince of *Conde* out of his cautious Marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the Allies before they were ready to give any Aſſault to the Town. Upon Sight of the *French* Army, the Prince of *Orange* called a Council of War, and propoſed to draw out and attack them immediately before they were reſted after their hard Days March. The *Spaniards* were content, but Count *Souches* would not agree to it, and ſo this Occaſion was loſt, and with ſuch Diſcontent among the Chief Officers, that next Day the *Germans* left their Trenches, and marched away about a League, and left room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleaſed into the Town. Upon this the Prince of *Orange* was forc'd to riſe too, with the reſt of his Army; and upon Conferences with the

the Count *Montery* as well as *Souches*, reſolved to leave the greateſt part of the *Dutch* Forces with the Count, and with the reſt to go himſelf and preſs the Siege of *Grave*. And here began thoſe Diſſentions among the chief Captains of the Confederates, that continued to ruin their Deſigns, and prov'd ſo fatal to them in the whole Courſe of the War; and againſt all Appearances, made good the *Spaniſh* Proverb, that, *Lega nunc a coge grandes poxaras*; the ſame Word ſignifying, a League, and Birdlime; and meaning, That as this never catches great Birds, ſo the t'other never makes great Conqueſts, tho' it often does great Defences: Yet theſe firſt Diviſions were endeavoured to be cured by the Emperor's recalling Count *Souches*, and *Spain* the Count of *Montery*, who were both thought to have maim'd the Actions of this Campania, or at leaſt not to have ſeconded, as they might have done, the Prince of *Orange*'s Vigour in purſuing them to other ſort of Succeſſes than it ended with. This Prince having fail'd of what he purpoſed in favour of the *Spaniards*, was reſolved to free his own Country from the laſt Mark of their intended Servitude, before this Seaſon

Birdlime never catches great Birds.

ended. *Grave* was the laſt Town the *French* held in any of the Seven Provinces, and had been kept as a Magazine both of what had been taken in the other Places, and was not eaſily carried away when they quitted them; ſo as there was above three hundred Pieces of Cannon in the Town, a very full and brave Gariſon, compoſed of the beſt Troops, and all that could be added to the Fortifications of the Place, after the *French* took it, though it was before counted one of the beſt the *Dutch* had. It had been inveſted a Month before; yet the Prince found the Siege but little advanc'd at his Arrival; and the *Dutch* Soldiers ſo rebuted with the brave Defence from within, that nothing could have carried the Place at this Seaſon, being about the middle of *October* when the Prince arrived, but the ſame Humour of leading on his Men himſelf whenever they ſhrunk, which can never be too much praiſed, nor too much blamed in this Prince; becauſe, as his Country and Allies would have had no General if they had loſt him; ſo they would have had no Army if they had not ventur'd him. In ſhort, by this and his uſual Application and Vigour, as well as the

common

common Methods of ſuch Sieges, he took *Grave* by the End of *October*, with equal Glory to himſelf, and Satisfaction to all the Provinces, and returned to the *Hague* about the middle of *November*, after having diſpos'd his Forces in their Winter Quarters.

With the Prince of *Orange*, returned moſt of the General Officers to the *Hague*; and among the reſt, old Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, who, as the Prince told me, had with the greateſt Induſtry that could be, ſought all Occaſions of dying fairly at the Battle of *Seneffe* without ſucceeding, which had given him great Regrets; and I did not wonder at it, conſidering his Age, of about ſeventy-ſix, and his long Habits both of Gout and Stone. When he came to viſit me upon his Return, and before he went to his Government of *Cleve*, it came in my head to ask him an idle Queſtion, becauſe I thought it not very likely for me to ſee him again, and I had a mind to know from his own Mouth, the Account of a common, but much credited Story, that I had heard ſo often from many others, of an Old Parrot he had in *Braſil* during his Government there, that ſpoke,

and

and ask'd, and answer'd common questions like a reasonable Creature; so that those of his Train there, generally concluded it to be Witchery or Possession; and one of his Chaplains, who liv'd long afterwards in *Holland*, would never from that time endure a Parrot, but said, They all had a Devil in them. I had heard many Particulars of this Story, and assur'd by People hard to be discredited, which made me ask Prince *Maurice*, What there was of it? He said with his usual Plainness, and Dryness in Talk, There was something true, but a great deal false, of what had been reported. I desired to know of him, What there was of the first? He told me short, and coldly, That he had heard of such an old Parrot when he came to *Brasil*; and tho' he believ'd nothing of it, and 'twas a good way off, he had so much Curiosity as to send for it; That 'twas a very great, and a very old one; and when it came first into the Room where the Prince was, with a great many *Dutch-men* about him, it said presently, *What a Company of White Men are here?* They ask'd it, What he thought that Man was, pointing at the Prince? it answer'd, *Some General or other.* When they brought it close to him,

him, he ask'd it, *D'ou venes vous?* It answer'd, *De Marinnan.* The Prince, *A qui eſt es vous?* The Parrot, *A un Portuguez.* Prince, *Que fais tulà?* Parrot, *Je garde les Poulles.* The Prince laugh'd, and ſaid, *Vous gardez les Poulles?* The Parrot anſwered, *Ouy, moy & jey ſcay bien faire*, and made the Chuck four or five times that People uſe to make to Chickens when they call them. I ſet down the Words of this worthy Dialogue in *French*, juſt as Prince *Maurice* ſaid them to me. I ask'd him, In what Language the Parrot ſpoke? And he ſaid, In *Braſilian.* I ask'd, whether he underſtood *Braſilian*? He ſaid, no; but he had taken care to have two Interpreters by him, one a *Dutchman* that ſpoke *Braſilian*, and t'other a *Braſilian* that ſpoke *Dutch*; That he ask'd them ſeparately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him juſt the ſame thing that the Parrot ſaid. I could not but tell this odd Story, becauſe it is ſo much out of the way, and from the firſt Hand, and what may paſs for a good one; for I dare ſay this Prince, at leaſt, believed himſelf in all he told me, ha-

Whence come you? *It anſwer'd*, From *Marinnan. The Prince*, to whom do you belong? *The Parrot*, To a *Portuguez. Prince*, What do you there? *Parrot*, I look after the Chickens. *The Prince laugh'd, and ſaid*, You look after the Chickens? *The Parrot anſwered*, Yes, I, and I know well enough how to do it.

having ever pass'd for a very honest and pious Man. I leave it to Naturalists to reason, and to other Men to believe as they please upon it; however, it is not, perhaps, amiss, to relieve or enliven a busie Scene sometimes with such Digressions, whether to the purpose or no.

Before I enter upon the Negotiations of the following Winter, it will be necessary to give a short view of the Actions of the several Armies, and Dispositions of the Parties in other Places, as well as in the *Low-Countries*, since all contributed to the different Humours that appeared at the *Hague* about the Peace, which was indeed the present Scene of that Affair, as well from his Majesty's Mediation, as the great Weight of the States in the Confederacy; but chiefly from the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, who seem'd to be the Spirit or Genius of the whole Alliance, and from whom the rest, as well as the States themselves, had so great Trust and Deference: For several of their Ministers made no difficulty to tell me upon many Occasions, that their Masters would not have enter'd into the present Engagements they were in, had it not been more upon the Confidence they had of the Prince's personal Honour and Justice, than

than either the Forces or the uſual Conduct of the States-General, eſpecially in what concerned the Foreign Treaties and Negotiations.

In *Rouſſillon* little paſs'd of Importance between the Forces there: The thoughts of both Crowns were bent on that ſide, more upon Reducing or Relieving *Meſſina*, that had made an abſolute Revolt from *Spain*, and endeavoured to gain Protection from *France*, which was not difficult in this Conjuncture; as that which might not only give a great Diverſion to the *Spaniſh* Forces, but open a Way for the *French* into the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, and new Deſigns upon *Naples*, which had been the Stage of ſo many great Wars between the Houſes of *France* and *Arragon*.

In *Germany* the Prince Electors Palatine, *Mentz*, and *Triers*, had entred into League with the Emperour, for the Defence of the *German* Liberty againſt all Strangers. *France* was ſo enraged againſt the Elector Palatine, upon theſe Meaſures he had taken, that Monſieur *Turenne*, at the Head of a *French* Army, marched into his Country, and made ſuch cruel Ravages in it, and ſo unuſual to that General's common Procedures, that the Elector

ſent

ſent him a Challenge; which Monſieur *Turenne* anſwer'd, he could not accept without his Maſter's leave, but was ready to meet him in the Field at the Head of his Army, againſt any that He and his New Allies would bring together.

This Prince, ſpighted at the helpleſs Ruin of his Country, prov'd the greateſt Incentive among the *German* Princes this Summer to join their Forces, in order to ſome vigorous Action againſt *France* on that ſide. The Duke of *Lunenburgh* engag'd firſt, and afterwards the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, in the common Cauſe of the Empire's being invaded; *Strasburgh* was prevailed with to throw off the Neutrality they had enjoy'd ſince the War began, and declare for the Empire in this Quarrel. The new Biſhop of *Munſter* entred into the ſame Meaſures, and all together made a conſiderable Force, that they brought into the Field on t'other ſide the *Rhine*, about the end of *Auguſt*, or beginning of *September*. The Old Duke of *Lorain* joined them with his Troops; The Duke of *Lunenburgh* was there in Perſon, and the Elector *Palatine* had the Command of the Army. They were divided as well as the Imperial Officers, whether they ſhould enter up-

upon any conſiderable Action or no, till the Duke of *Brandenburgh* came up, who was upon his March at the Head of a very conſiderable Army that join'd the Confederates in *October*. This gave great Hopes and Deſigns of entring either *Lorain* or *Burgundy*, or taking *Briſac*, or at leaſt *Sabern* and *Haguena*; and thereby ſecuring their Winter-Quarters in *Alſace*. Monſieur *Turenne* play'd a defenſive Game with a ſmall Army; and ill handled by the Sickneſs of the Seaſon. *France* was at ſuch a Pinch for Men, or Fear of an Irruption into their Country from *Flanders* or *Alſace*, that they call'd their Ban and Arriere Ban, the aſſembling whereof had been long diſuſed, and in a manner antiquated. However with ſome of theſe new Troops, and a Reinforcement from *Flanders* after the Battle of *Seneffe*, Monſieur *Turenne* by plain force of Skill, and that admirable Science in the Conduct of a War, which no Captain of his Age could diſpute with him, prevented and diſappointed every one of the Confederates Deſigns, without ever coming to a ſet Battle, though ſeveral ſharp Fights of part of the Force upon Neceſſity or Advantage; ſo that the Winter ended with the Allies quit-

quitting the laſt Point they pretended, and would have been indeed deciſive in the Iſſue of this Campania, which was the *German* Armies quartering in *Alſace* and other Parts on that ſide the *Rhine*.

The moſt conſiderable Loſs or Event of this Campania upon the *Rhine*, was the Death of the young Prince of *Brandenburgh*, who died about the End of it at *Strasburgh*, of a Feaver ſo violent and precipitate, as gave Occaſion for the uſual Suſpicions and Diſcourſes that attend the Death of ſuch young Princes as give great Hopes and Fears to their Enemies and Friends. This was the more conſidered for a particular and intimate Friendſhip between him and the Prince of *Orange*, who, though Couſin-Germans, and engaged in one common Cauſe, were yet nearer joyn'd by likeneſs of Humours than of Intereſt; and by the Ties of Perſonal Kindneſs than of Blood; and I never knew the Prince of *Orange* more ſenſible of any Misfortune that hapned to him, than of this.

In all the Encounters mentioned on this ſide, no Forces were oftener ſeen, or more felt, or gained more Honour of their Firmneſs and Bravery, than the *Engliſh* Regiments ſtill remaining in the *French*

French Service, to whom the *Germans* attributed wholly Monſieur *Turenne*'s Succeſſes, as he did a great deal himſelf; but the Diviſions among the Princes that made up the Confederate Armies, may juſtly be ſaid to have had all the Merit that was not Perſonal in Monſieur *Turenne*, who was certainly allowed by all that compar'd them, to be the greateſt Captain by much of his Age, in the courſe of a War, or Conduct of a Campania, tho' the Prince of *Conde* was thought greater in the Day of Battel, both as to the Diſpoſal and Order of an Army, Vigorous Enterpriſe, and ſharp as well as pertinent Reſolutions upon all ſudden Emergencies, to which the Courſe and Chance of a Battel is every way ſubject.

For *Sueden* and *Denmark*, they were not yet entred into the Liſts, but ſeem'd now upon the point of taking party; *Sueden* had acted the part of a Mediator ever ſince the breaking up of the Treaty at *Colen*, both by their Ambaſſador at *Vienna* and at the *Hague*; who plied both thoſe Courts with very long and frequent Memorials to that purpoſe during this whole Summer; but they had been as hard ply'd themſelves all

that time by the Practices and Advantages offer'd by *France*, both to that Crown, and the Chief Miniſters, to engage them in the War. Nothing ſeem'd ſo likely to determine them, as the Treaty and Expedition of the Duke of *Brandenburgh* on the Confederate Side, which laid open his Country to the Invaſion of *Sueden*, and gave them a Pretence of a Breach, in that Prince, of the Treaties between them, in making War againſt *France* without the Conſent of the *Suedes*. Therefore as ſoon as he was gone towards the *Rhine* with all the Strength of his Forces, the *Suedes* drew the beſt and greateſt part of theirs into *Pomerania*; and as the Duke of *Brandenburgh* advanc'd in the common Deſigns againſt *France*; ſo *Sueden* without declaring War, purſued their Meaſures with that Crown; and before the End of the Year had drawn their Forces into the *Brandenburgh* Country, tho' without attempt upon any Places, and even with pretence at firſt of paying for their Quarters, which was reckon'd upon as ſhort-liv'd among Soldiers in another Prince's Country, whether Friend or Enemy. The preſent Effect of this Inroad, was, the ending of another Pretence of that Crown,

Crown, which was that of Mediation, and ſo devolving that Figure wholly upon His Majeſty; and on the other ſide giving Hopes to the Confederates of engaging *Denmark* on their ſide, if for no other Reaſon, yet upon that old one among them of being always oppoſite to *Sueden* and their Intereſts or Allies.

As ſoon as the Prince came to the *Hague*, I attended Him; and after Compliments paſt, I acquainted him with what His Majeſty had commanded me of his Perſonal Kindneſs and Eſteem for His Highneſs, of his Reſolutions to obſerve and cultivate His preſent Friendſhip with the States, and deſire to ſee a General Peace reſtored to *Chriſtendom*, in which he intended to act wholly in concert with His Highneſs, whoſe Opinion as to the thing, and the Conditions moſt neceſſary for his Highneſs to inſiſt on, He very much deſired to underſtand as ſoon and as fully as He could. The Prince anſwered me with Expreſſions of Duty and Kindneſs to His Majeſty, and Deſires of a near Conjunction between the two Nations, which He thought alone could make His Majeſty ſafe at home and abroad. For the Peace, He ſaid, though He could

make many Complaints of both *Spaniards* and *Imperialists* Conduct since their Treaties; yet the States could not with any Faith or Honour make any separate Peace upon any terms that *France* could offer them. That a General Peace could not be made without leaving *Flanders* in a Posture of defending it self, upon any new or sudden Invasion, against which no Guarantees could secure it. That *Spain* could not upon any exchange quit the County of *Burgundy*, or *Cambray*, nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, unless it were *Aire* and St. *Omer*. This he said was his Opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all consistent with the Safety of his Countrey, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the point of his Majesty's Mediation, which was accepted both at *Madrid* and *Vienna*. I told him that the King having been the Author and Guarend of the Peace at *Aix*, and not having yet seen the *French* beaten out of any Town that was given them by that Treaty, could with ill Grace propose any thing to *France* beyond those Terms, unless it

it were upon some Equivalent. He replied resolutely, 'Twere better going on with the War, let it last as long, and cost as much as it would. That his Majesty might, if he pleas'd, induce *France* to whatever he thought just; and could never shew him so much Kindness, as to bring him out of this War with Honour. If he would not, it must go on till some Change happened in the Condition of the Parties to make the Peace more necessary of one side or other. How it would fall out, he could not tell, and must leave it to God; but he thought, they had as fair a Game as the *French*. That he was sure they might have been absolutely beaten at *Seneffe*, if the Count *Souches* had so pleased; and have had a fair Blow for it again at *Oudenarde*. That he was sure *Germany* could furnish more and better Men than *France*; and they were now in a manner united in the common Defence, and he hoped the Emperor's Councils and Conduct would not be so betray'd as they had been. That however he must perform what his own Honour, as well as that of the States was engaged in to their Allies, let it cost what it would.

I imagined in what he ſaid of the Emperor's Councils, he reflected upon the Buſineſs of Prince *Lakowitz*, whoſe Diſgrace made ſo great Noiſe about this time, and with Particulars ſo extraordinary, of the *French* Practices in that Court, that they were very hard to believe, and very uncertain to know at that Diſtance, and even at *Vienna* it ſelf; and therefore I would not enter into them with the Prince, nor ſhall I here, as being foreign to this preſent Scene.

There was one Point more I entred into with the Prince, which was upon occaſion of the many diſcontented Perſons in *England*, at the Courſe of the laſt Miniſtry and War, who were ſuſpected to have trinkled at leaſt with *Holland* about the raiſing Seditions, and perhaps Inſurrections in *England*, if the War continu'd; and the *Dutch* Fleets ſhould appear upon our Coaſts, that were like to be unguarded the next Summer by the Straights his Majeſty was in, for Money to ſet out a Fleet. It was believ'd among many others, my Lord *Shaftsbury* was one that had of late play'd this Game, who having been as deep as any Man in the Councils of the Cabal, and gone ſo far

far in the publick Applauſe of them, as in a Speech in Parliament to have applied the *Delenda Carthago* to our Intereſt in the Deſtruction of *Holland*; yet when he ſaw the Parliament and Nation ſullen upon it, and that the King could not purſue it with ſo much ill Humour in both, he turned ſhort upon the Court and the reſt of the Cabal, fell in with the popular Humour in the City as well as Parliament, decried the preſent Deſigns and Conduct, though with the loſs of his Chancellor's Place, and was believed to manage a Practice in *Holland* for ſome Inſtructions here. I told the Prince what the King ſuſpected of ſome of His Subjects, without naming any; how much Service it would be to his Majeſty to know them more certainly, and how kind it would be in His Highneſs to diſcover them. The Prince was ſtanch, and ſaid he was ſure the King would not preſs Him upon a thing ſo much againſt all Honour, as to betray Men that profeſs'd to be his Friends. I gave His Majeſty an Account of all that paſs'd between the Prince and me, which was thought at Court both cold to His Majeſty, and ſtiff as to the Peace; and I had no Returns or Orders upon it; but

Carthage is to be deſtroy'd.

within a Week, or ten Days, I had notice that my Lord *Arlington* and my Lord *Offory* intended to make a turn into *Holland*, with Monſieur *Odyke*, and his two Siſters, to make a Viſit to their Friends at the *Hague*; and about the beginning of *December* they arrived in the King's Yachts, but without any ſort of Character, or ſhow of Buſineſs.

My Lord *Arlington* brought me a Letter form the King, written all with His own hand; and telling me he had ſent him to ſet ſome important Points right between His Majeſty and the Prince which ought not to lie longer in doubt; recommending to me all the Aſſiſtance I could give him there, and aſſuring me of His Majeſty's Confidence and Kindneſs. His Lordſhip brought the moſt ample Credential likewiſe, that could be from His Majeſty to the Prince, who ſtill gave me part of all that paſs'd between them, with as much Openneſs and Freedom, as t'other did with Coldneſs and Reſerve; and thereby lent me many Lights that I could not otherwiſe have had to diſcover the Myſtery of this Journey and Affair, which was in great part, a Secret to my Lord Treaſurer himſelf, whom yet His Majeſty was thought

thought to truſt at that time, as much as he had ever done any of his Miniſters.

My Lord *Arlington*, who had been at the Head of thoſe Meaſures that the King entred into during the Miniſtry of the Cabal, and the War with *Holland*, in conjunction with *France*, found himſelf ſomething diſcredited with his Maſter, upon the ill Iſſue of that Affair, and the Neceſſities which forc'd him to a ſeparate Peace, both from the Wants of his Treaſury, and Diſcontents of his Parliament and People in general. By the degrees this Lord's Favour declin'd, the Earl of *Danby*'s encreas'd, who ſucceeded my Lord *Clifford* in the Treaſury, which had ever been my Lord *Arlington*'s Ambition. This gave him an implacable Envy and Hatred againſt my Lord *Danby*, and which no Offices of Friends could ever allay. He was not well in the Nation for having had ſuch a part in breaking the courſe of the Triple Alliance, and making that with *France* for the Ruin of *Holland*, and as was commonly thought for ſome Ends more diſpleaſing at home. Yet when the ill humour of the Parliament had broken the deſigns of the Cabal, and made my Lord *Shaftsbury* ſhift his Sails, and fall into the popular ſtream;

my

My Lord *Arlington* had gone ſo far upon the ſame Scent, as to joyn with the Duke of *Ormond* and Secretary *Coventry*, to perſuade the King to remove the Duke wholly from Court and publick Buſineſs, as a Means to appeaſe the Diſcontents of the Parliament upon ſome Jealouſies the late Conduct of Affairs had raiſed among them. By this Council my Lord *Arlington* had very much offended the Duke; and finding himſelf ill with his Royal Highneſs, with the Parliament, and every Day declining in Credit with the King; He thought there was no way of retrieving his Game, but by making himſelf the Inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe Meaſures that might be taken between the King and the Prince of *Orange*. He firſt infuſed into His Majeſty the Neceſſity and Advantage of ſuch a Negotiation, and then that of his being employed in it; from the Intereſt his Lady's Friends and Kindred in *Holland* would be able to give him, as well as from the Credit of having been ſo long in the Secret of the King's Affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them ſuch Colours as might render the late Conduct of them leſs diſagreeable to the Prince. Tho' he profeſs'd great Friendſhip to me, yet he re-

represented me as unlikely to be treated with such a Confidence from the Prince as was requisite in this Affair, for having been so intimate with Monsieur *De Witt* in my former Embassy; and gave the Prince's Unwillingness to see me during the Campagnia, as a Testimony of his Dislike, or at least Indifferency to me; He propos'd going over with all the Auxiliaries that were like to be of any Succour in this Expedition, carrying not only my Lady *Arlington*, but Madam *Beverwort* her Sister, who had something in her Humour and Conversation very agreeable to the Prince; Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, who took himself to be in great credit in that Court, where he had serv'd long, and particularly with Monsieur *Bentinck*; nor was it forgot to carry over Dr. *Durel* as a Man fit to practise Monsieur *Marest* a *French* Minister, who was thought to have credit with the Prince; and my Lord *Ossory* was known to have a great Part in his Kindness and Esteem as well from his Marriage into the *Beverwort* Family, as from his Bravery so much applauded in all Actions where he had been, which was a Quality lov'd by this Prince, tho' employed against him.

My

My Lord *Danby* had been made believe, that a Letter from the Prince to Monſieur *Odyke*, then one of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors in *England*, had given occaſion for this Journey, as if the Prince had deſir'd ſome Perſon there from the King, with whom he might enter in the laſt Confidence; but the Prince aſſured me there was no ſuch thing, and that Monſieur *Ruvigny*, the *French* Miniſter at *London*, had more part in this Journey than he, or perhaps any body elſe; and that all the Endeavours us'd towards a Peace, came from that ſide.

However inſtructed, at leaſt thus accompany'd, my Lord *Arlington* came to the *Hague*, where he told me at our firſt meeting that he came over to ſet right ſome things between the King and the Prince, that he doubted were amiſs, and ſettle a perfect Kindneſs and Confidence between them for the time to come. That to do this he muſt go to the bottom of the Sore, and rake into things paſt, which was an unpleaſant Work, and which I could not do, as having no part in the King's Buſineſs during that time wherein the Prince took his Offence at our Councils. That the King had choſen him for this Office, becauſe he could beſt

beſt juſtifie His Majeſty's Intentions towards his Highneſs in the whole courſe of that Affair. That for the Peace tho' His Majeſty deſired it, yet he would not meddle with it, unleſs the Prince of himſelf made any Overtures about it, but would only endeavour to give the Prince what Lights he could as to the State of things in general, and what he might hope from his Allies, as well as from *France*; That if the Prince made no Advances to him upon it, he would let it fall and leave it in my hands to be purſued by the Orders I ſhould receive. That he knew very well ſuch a Commiſſion as his might look unkind, if not injurious to another Ambaſſador; and that he would not have come, if any other had been here; but the King, as well as he, reckoned ſo far upon the Friendſhip between us, that they were both confident of my being eaſie in it, and giving him any Aſſiſtance he ſhould want from me, which he would acquaint me with as the matter proceeded. He ſaid beſides, That after having fought the King's Battel with the Prince, he muſt fight another of his own, who did not deſerve the Coldneſs his Highneſs had of late expreſſed to him, and when this

this was done, all his Buſineſs was ended here, and the reſt would be only ſeeing his Friends, and finding ſome Diverſion from a new Scene; That he deſired I would, according to the Forms, bring Him and my Lord *Oſſory* the firſt time to the Prince, and after that, they would ſee him no more in Ceremony, nor give me that trouble.

I told his Lordſhip, I was very glad to ſee him, let his Buſineſs be what it would, That I ſhould be gladder yet that the King's Buſineſs ſhould be done, let it be by whom it would; but much more that it might be by Him: That for ſetting Matters right between the King and Prince, I thought it the beſt Office could be done them both; That for the way he mentioned of raking into the Sore, and fighting Battles in defence or Juſtification of what was paſt, I knew not what to ſay to it, but, would leave it to his own Prudence; but, from what I knew in particular of the Prince's Humour and Thoughts, whatever he did of that ſort, I believ'd, ſhould be very gentle, and not go too deep; and, for my own part, I was always of Opinion, That *Expoſtulations were very apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends.* That I would

would ſend to the Prince for an Hour; and when I had brought him to his Highneſs, I would leave him there after the firſt Entrances were paſt, and deſired no other part in his Affair, than what he thought neceſſary to give me: Whenever he did, I ſhould ſerve him the beſt I could in ſo good an Endeavour; and for the reſt, I ſhould leave the Field free to my Lord *Oſſory* and Him, while they ſtay'd at the *Hague*, and as to all that was ſecret; as to the reſt, I deſir'd they would make what uſe they pleaſed of Me and my Houſe.

My Lord *Arlington* took all I ſaid very well; ſaid, 'Twas not neceſſary I ſhould leave them after I had introduc'd them to the Prince, but in ſuch a manner as I ſaw he would not diſlike it, nor have any body thought to have any part in the Succeſſes he expected: So next Morning I brought them to the Prince, and, after a quarter of an hours ſtay, left them together. The Prince would have had me ſtay'd, but my Lord *Arlington* ſaid not a Word; and I pretended ſome Letters preſs'd me, and ſo went away, and never ſaw them together any more while they ſtay'd at the *Hague*, unleſs at Dinner, or in mix'd and publick Company.

The

The truth is, I was not the worſe entertained during the Courſe of this Adventure; for my Lord *Arlington* told me every day what he thought fit of all that paſs'd between them; and the Prince told me not only the thing, but the manner of it, which was more important than the matter it ſelf; for this had no effect, but the other a great deal; and that laſted long. My Lord *Arlington* told me much of his Expoſtulations, and with what good turns of Wit he had juſtified both the King's part in the late War, and his own; but that, upon all, he found the Prince dry and ſullen, or at the beſt uneaſie, and as if he wiſh'd it ended. That upon Diſcourſe of the State of *Chriſtendom*, and what related to the War he was engag'd in, he made him no Overtures at all, nor entred further than that the King might bring him out of it with Honour, if he pleas'd, and with Safety to *Chriſtendom*; if not, it muſt go on till the Fortunes of the Parties changing, made way for other Thoughts than he believed either of them had at this time. That this might happen after another Campania, which none but his Majeſty could prevent, by inducing *France* to ſuch terms as he thought juſt and ſafe for the reſt of *Chriſtendom*.

This

This was the Sum of what my Lord *Arlington* pretended to have paſs'd in three long Conferences; after which it grew ſo uneaſie between them, that he told me he had abſolutely given it over, and would not ſay a word more of buſineſs while he was there, and attended His Majeſty's Orders after the return of his Diſpatches: but would divert himſelf in the mean time as well as he could, ſee the Prince as often as he pleaſed at Dinner, or in Company, but ask it no more in private, unleſs the Prince of himſelf deſir'd it; and, upon the whole, gave all the ſigns of being equally diſappointed and diſcontented with the Succeſs of this Undertaking.

The Prince, on the other ſide, told me with what Arrogance and Inſolence my Lord *Arlington* had entred upon all his Expoſtulations with him, both upon the King's Chapter and his Own; That it was not only in the Diſcourſes of it, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, that he could by his Wit make believe what he pleaſed; but in the manner he ſaid all upon that Subject, it was as if he had taken Himſelf for the Prince of *Orange*, and him for My Lord *Arlington*; That all he ſaid was ſo artificial, and giving

ſuch falſe Colours to things every body knew, that he, that was a plain Man, could not bear it, and was never ſo weary of any Converſation in his Life. In ſhort, all the Prince told me upon it, look'd ſpighted at my Lord *Arlington*, and not very much ſatisfied with the King's Intentions upon this Errand, tho he ſaid he was ſure His Majeſty never intended he ſhould treat it in the manner he had, if he remembred that he was his Nephew, tho nothing elſe.

After the firſt Converſations, my Lord *Arlington* ſtaid near ſix Weeks in *Holland*, either upon contrary Winds to return his Diſpatches, or to carry him away, often at Dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count *Waldeck*'s, or Monſieur *Odyke*'s, or with me, putting on the beſt Humour and Countenance, affecting the Figure of one that had nothing of buſineſs in his Head, or in the deſign of his Journey, but at heart weary of his ſtay in *Holland*, and unwilling to return with no better Account of his Errand; and, as it prov'd, he had reaſon for both.

I found the Penſioner and Count *Waldeck* thought, that the bent of my Lord *Arlington* was, to draw the Prince into ſuch Meaſures of a Peace as *France* then

ſo

ſo much deſired: Into a diſcovery of thoſe Perſons who had made Advances to the Prince or the States of raiſing Commotions in *England* during the late War; into ſecret Meaſures with the King of aſſiſting him againſt any Rebels at home, as well as Enemies abroad; and into the Hopes or Deſigns of a Match with the Duke's Eldeſt Daughter. Tho' they ſaid, he found the Prince would not enter at all into the Firſt, was obſtinate againſt the Second, treated the Third as a diſreſpect to the King, to think he could be ſo ill belov'd, or ſo imprudent to need it; and upon mention made of the laſt by my Lord *Oſſory*, he took no further hold of it, than ſaying, *His Fortunes were not in a condition for him to think of a Wife.*

Thus ended his Myſtical Journey; which I have the rather unveil'd, becauſe, perhaps, no other could do it, nor I, without ſo many ſeveral Lights from ſo many ſeveral Hands; and becauſe, tho' it brought forth no preſent Fruits, yet Seeds were then ſcattered, out of which ſprung afterwards ſome very great Events.

My Lord *Arlington* return'd, was receiv'd but coldly by the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that any mention had been made of the Lady *Mary*, tho it was done only by my Lord *Offory*, and whether with Order from the King or no, was not known; So as never any ſtrain of Court-skill and Contrivance ſucceeded ſo unfortunately as this had done, and ſo contrary to all the Ends the Author of it propoſed to himſelf. Inſtead of advancing the Peace, he left it deſperate; Inſtead of eſtabliſhing a Confidence between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; inſtead of entring into great perſonal Confidence and Friendſhip with the Prince, he left an Unkindneſs that laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his own Credit at Court, which he found waining upon the increaſe of my Lord *Danby's*, he made an end of all he had left with the King, who never after us'd him with any Confidence further than the forms of his Place; and found my Lord Treaſurer's Credit with the King more advanced in ſix weeks he had been away, than it had done in many months before.

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Whatever was the occaſion, *France* had this Winter an extreme deſire of a Peace, and left no ways unattempted to obtain it, that might not too much diſcover the need they had of it. I ſuppoſe they might apprehend what the Confederates reckon'd upon, with perhaps, too much aſſurance, That if they could gain one Battle, they ſhould certainly enter *France*; and if ever they did, the ill Humours grown under this late Government would certainly break out, and make way for all the Succeſſes and Ravages they propos'd to themſelves; or, at leaſt, for ſuch terms of a Peace, as would leave all the Neighbours of that Crown in ſafety, and at quiet. A talk was ſet on foot of a Marriage between Monſieur's eldeſt Daughter and the King of *Spain*, in the heat of the War; a Suſpenſion of Arms was propos'd at *Vienna* by Count *Oxenſtiern* the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, and the ſending Plenipotentiaries immediately after to treat the Peace with Offers, in caſe theſe were agreed to, that the Affair of Prince *William* of *Furſtenburgh* ſhould be reſpited till the end of the Treaty, and Paſports ſhould be granted for the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Miniſters, upon which difficulties had been made.

Practices were uſed with the Princes of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh* to disjoint them from the Common Alliance; and a particular Intelligence was held between the Mareſchal *d' Eſtrades*, and one who had been Penſioner of *Maſtricht*, who communicated all his Letters to the Penſioner *Fagel*. But the Sum of all, was Inſtances for a ſeparate Peace between *France* and *Holland*, a Breach of their Meaſures with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and return of the old Ones with *France*, towards which they offer'd all the Advantages that could be to the States in point of Commerce, and all the Perſonal Ones that could be deſired by a Prince of *Orange*.

But the Prince was unmoveable in the Point of not leaving his Allies, tho' he began to foreſee he was like to play a hard Game with them next Summer in the Field, and perhaps a harder with the People at Home, who grew impatient for a Peace, both upon the cruel Taxes the War had rais'd, and upon the preſent decay of Trade, as well as apprehenſion that with longer continuance of the War, it would run ſo far into a new Channel by *England*, as never to be retriev'd. Upon theſe conſiderations the Prince reſolv'd

ſolv'd to make one effort towards a Peace with Honour, before this Seaſon ended, and made all further thoughts of it give way to the Actions of the approaching Campania. His Scheme was this; That a Match ſhould be made between the King of *Spain*, and *Madamoiſelle*: That *France* ſhould give with her in Dowry, the late conquer'd Places in *Flanders*. That the King ſhould make this Match, and upon theſe Terms; That he ſhould have two hundred thouſand pounds for his good Offices in it. By this means a Peace would be made with ſafety to *Spain* and to *Holland*, by ſecuring again the Frontiers of *Flanders*, with Honour to *France*, who parted with the conquer'd Towns only as a Dowry to a Daughter of *France*, without any blemiſh to the Prince's Honour, or Faith in his Alliances, and with Honour and Profit both to His Majeſty, which laſt was thought no unwelcome Circumſtance at that time in our Court.

This the Prince and Penſioner having digeſted the beſt way they could, and deduc'd to Me, deſir'd me to propoſe to the King, as the only way of making the Peace he ſo much deſir'd, as a thing they were ſure he could do, and that *France*

could not deny him, if he would preſs it; and as the laſt degree of Favour His Majeſty could expreſs to the Prince, who could no other way come out of this War with Honour. They deſir'd me to write it to the King himſelf, and that nothing might be ſaid of it to any other Perſon, till His Majeſty ſhould return me his Opinion upon it.

I did ſo by two Letters to the King, but had no hopes given me that it would be effected; whether *France* took the deſires of the Prince for an Argument of his being weary of the War, or that he found the People were ſo; or whether they would not end the War, without breaking the force and confidence of the preſent Alliance, or (as the Prince thought) without leaving *Flanders* open for another Invaſion, when ſome better Conjuncture ſhould make way for it; or whether the Revolt of *Meſſina* had given them hopes of diſabling *Spain*, by drawing their Forces on that ſide, and diſpoſing them to a Peace by this Wound in a part ſo tender, and that might ſpread ſo far into *Italy*; or whether they had now abſolutely engaged the Crown of *Sweden* to enter into the War, and believed that by the Impreſſion that Crown would make

make in *Pomerania*, they might not only recall the Duke of *Brandenburgh* and his Forces from the *Rhine*, but, if they ſucceeded, might ſo allarm the Empire on that ſide, as to break or very much weaken any conjunction of their Forces next Summer on this ſide of the *Rhine*. However it was, this Attempt of the Prince fail'd, and ſo all further thoughts of a preſent Peace ended, and left me only to purſue the cold ſcent of a Mediation in the common Forms, while the Preparations for a warm Summer on all ſides were making in the Field.

The Prince this *February* went into *Gelderland* to eſtabliſh the new Magiſtracy there, according to his Office of Stadtholder. Whilſt he was there, the Deputies of that Province by unanimous conſent made him an Offer of the Sovereignty of that Countrey, with the ancient Title of *Duke of Gelderland*, which they pretended had been formerly in ſome of his Anceſtors. The Prince ſaid, *He would give them no anſwer upon an Affair of ſuch moment, without firſt adviſing with the other Provinces:* He immediately writ to thoſe of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, to communicate this Offer to them, and demand their Advice upon

upon it. *Zealand* return'd theirs againſt his accepting of it, grounding it upon the Jealouſies it might raiſe in the other Provinces, and inconſiſtence of it with the Conſtitutions of their Union, which left none of the Provinces at liberty to diſpoſe of their Soveraignty without conſent of the reſt. *Utrecht* return'd their anſwer with advice to accept it. *Holland* was longer, depending upon the delays neceſſary in running the circle of ſo many Towns; ſo that before it was concluded, the Prince upon receiving the advice of *Utrecht*, return'd them immediately his Anſwer, with the notice, that he had excus'd himſelf to the States of *Gelderland*, from accepting the offer they had made him.

Nothing could more imploy the buſie heads of this time than the courſe of this Affair; ſome attributing it to the ambition of the Prince, and preſaging the ſame deſign upon the reſt of the Provinces; others laying it to the charge of ſome of his young Councellors; others to a deſign of ſounding the humour of the Provinces, and of having the honour to refuſe it, after they ſhould all have advis'd him to accept it, as 'twas believ'd they would do. For my own part,

part, I can ſay nothing of it with certainty, having never ſeen the Prince while it was upon the Anvil, nor diſcours'd with him upon this Subject either before or after; but if it were an ambition bent upon the Soveraignty of the reſt of the Provinces as well as *Gelderland*, it was a Deſign very different from all his proceedings in the courſe of the War, when *France* had propos'd it to him with all the advantages and ſupport that could be; and as different from what he had ever ſeem'd to underſtand, and to be as much perſuaded of as any Man, That a Soveraign Prince in *Holland* would certainly and ſoon ruin the Trade, and conſequently the Riches and Greatneſs of that State, and leave a Prince of it without power, or conſideration in the World; whereas the Princes of *Orange* in the Poſt they have held for four Generations, have entred into Wars and Treaties, with a regard and weight equal to moſt of the Kings of *Chriſtendom*. For young Councellors that were thought to have engag'd the Prince in this Adventure, I cannot ſpeak with more certainty than of the Intention; but I am ſure if they were in it, they were not alone; for none

none doubts of Monſieur *Fagel*'s having been for it; and Monſieur *Beverning*, who was ever thought as ſtanch a Patriot as any Man among them, told me himſelf, that he had advis'd the Prince to accept it; which I believe he would not have done, if he had foreſeen any danger from it to his Countrey. But whether the Prince or his Friends had the part that was commonly thought in the firſt Overture, 'tis certain an Intereſt of the Deputies and Magiſtrates, as well as Nobles of *Gelderland* had a ſhare in it too. For whereas this is the firſt Province in the Union, and abounds with Nobles more than all the reſt, yet by reaſon of their Poverty from a barren Soil and want of Trade, they are leſs conſider'd than ſeveral other Provinces, and their Voices has been in a manner ſwallowed up by that of *Holland*, who, by their Trade and Riches, have a great influence upon thoſe of *Gelderland*. The Deputies of this Province finding themſelves yet leſs conſiderable in the Union than they were before the War, which had extreamly impoveriſh'd their Countrey during the *French* Conqueſts, thought there was no way of recovering ſuch a conſideration in the State, as ſuited

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ed with the rank and dignity they held, but devolving the Soveraignty of their Province upon the Prince of *Orange*. Besides many of the Nobles there having pretences for themselves or their Friends in the Military Imployments, thought to make their Court to the Prince upon whom those Charges depended, by advancing such a Proposition; and this was certainly a great ingredient into the first conception of it; but whether conniv'd at, or seconded by the Prince, or his Friends, or with what Aims or Instructions I cannot say, and so leave it as a *Mushroom* that grew up suddenly, and as suddenly wither'd and left no sign where it had grown.

At the Prince's return to the *Hague* in *March* 1675. I receiv'd a Letter from His Majesty's own hand, telling me of some advices given him, That the Prince intended to come over into *England* against the approaching Session of Parliament, and commanding me to hinder it, as if His Majesty believ'd the thing. I adventur'd to assure the King there could be nothing of it, before I saw the Prince; but when I did, I pretended not to have had it from His Majesty, but that I heard such a thing had been

been whiſper'd to him. He ſaid, yes, and he believ'd my Lord *Arlington*, who had ſometimes talk'd of that Journey after the Peace ſhould be made. However it came, he was ſorry the King ſhould believe it. That he was his Majeſty's Servant, and if he could do him no ſervice, he would at leaſt do him no harm. But if the King would be otherwiſe poſſeſt, he could not help it; yet deſired me to aſſure him there had never been any ground for ſuch a report. In the Afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me in great heat, he had, ſince he ſaw me, receiv'd the moſt impertinent Letter from Lord *Arlington* that ever was upon that Subject, treating it as a reſolution certain and intended for raiſing heats in the Parliament, and commotions in the Kingdom; telling him, 'Twas like to prove but an ill friendſhip between the King and him, if it was to be made *A coup de baſtons*; and putting him in mind, *Qu'il ya de playes chez vous, qui ſaigneront encore, ſi l' on y met la main.* The Prince ſaid, he knew well enough what Lord *Arlington* meant by that expreſſion, for he had told Monſieur *Read* in *England*, when he went

With Blows.

That there are ſome wounds among you, that will bleed ſtill, if there be not care taken of them.

went over upon the first motions of the last Peace, That the King could make the Prince be serv'd as *De Witt* was if he would set himself about it. Upon this he fell into the greatest rage that ever I saw him, against my Lord *Arlington*, calling this proceeding malicious, and insolent, saying, He would write to him what he deserv'd; but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common forms. That since he knew not how to trust the King's Ministers, He would write to the King himself, and desir'd me to convey his Letters so, as they might come to no other hand.

Soon after Count *Waldeck* went to *Vienna* to concert the Actions of the next Campania, where Count *Montecuculi* was appointed to command the Imperial Forces instead of Duke *Bornonville*; and the Count *Souches* was sent away into a Government in *Hungary*. In *March* the Elector of *Brandenburgh* came to *Cleve*, upon the same concert, where he was met by the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marquess *De Grana* the Emperor's Minister; but the main point debated here was thought to be the Defence necessary to be made in *Pomerania* against the *Suede*, who began now to throw

throw off the Mask, to ravage the Countrey, and to attack ſome places neceſſary for their Quarters. The Moneys likewiſe paid that Court from *France* at *Hamburgh* had been ſo publick and ſo avow'd, that none further doubted of a ſudden and open Rupture from that Crown. Whereupon the States ſent to Monſieur *Eherſtein* (then *Swediſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, and who would have kept ſtill the Figure of a Mediator) to put in no more Memorials to the States upon that occaſion, ſince they could not receive them from a Miniſter of a Prince, who had openly and without cauſe attacqu'd one of their Allies.

At this time arriv'd an Ambaſſador from *Denmark* at the *Hague*, to try what advantages his Maſter could make of this preſent Conjuncture, by Terms of entring into the Allyance with *France* and *Sweden*. And all things being thus in the higheſt Fermentation, a ſudden damp fell upon the whole maſs of theſe great Affairs by the Sickneſs of the Prince of *Orange*; which ſhew'd him to be the Spring that gave motion to all the other Wheels; for while his Illneſs laſted, and the Event was doubtful, all was

was in ſuſpence, and none of the Parties engag'd ſeem to have other Motions or Sentiments than what were rais'd by the Hopes or Fears of ſo important a Life. After ſome days Fever, it proved the Small-Pox, which had been very fatal in his Family, and gave the greater Apprehenſions to his Friends and his Countrey, who expreſſed indeed a ſtrange concernment upon this occaſion, by perpetual concourſe of People to enquire after every minutes progreſs of his Illneſs. Whilſt it laſted, he had taken a fancy hardly to eat or drink any thing but what came from my Houſe, which the People after took notice of as it paſs'd; and tho perhaps few Foreigners have had the luck to be better thought of, or uſed in a ſtrange Countrey, than we had ever been in *Holland*, yet ſeveral of our *Dutch* Friends told us, That in caſe any thing fatal happened to the Prince from this Diſeaſe, they believed the People would pull down our Houſes, and tear us all in pieces, upon knowing what he took in his Sickneſs came from our hands. God be thanked all paſs'd without any bad accident, tho ill ſymptoms at firſt; and his recovery, next to the Bleſſing of God, was owing

to the great evenneſs of his temper, and conſtancy of mind, which gave way to no impreſſions or imaginations that uſe to be of ſo ill conſequence in that Diſeaſe; ſo that it paſs'd in the common forms, and within twenty days he was abroad, and fell into the preſent buſineſs of the Scene, among which the preparation for the Campania was the chief.

I cannot here forbear to give Monſieur *Bentinck* the Character due to him, of the beſt Servant I have ever known in Prince's or in private Family. He tended his Maſter during the whole courſe of his Diſeaſe, both night and day; nothing he took was given him, nor he ever remov'd in his Bed, by any other hand; and the Prince told me, that whether he ſlept or no, he could not tell; but in ſixteen days and nights, he never call'd once that he was not anſwer'd by Monſieur *Bentinck*, as if he had been awake. The firſt time the Prince was well enough to have his Head open'd and comb'd, Monſieur *Bentinck*, as ſoon as it was done, begg'd of his Maſter to give him leave to go home, for he was able to hold out no longer; He did ſo, and fell immediately ſick of the

the ſame Diſeaſe, and in great extremity; but recover'd juſt ſoon enough to attend his Maſter into the Field, where he was ever next his Perſon.

The Campania happen'd to begin later than it us'd to do on the *French* ſide, both from the expectation what the Prince's ſickneſs would end in, and from ſome Commotions ſucceeding one another about this time in *Guienne* and *Brittany*, upon occaſion of the Impoſts or Cabals, which drew ſome of the *French* Forces into thoſe Parts. But when thoſe Troubles were ended, as they were by an unuſual ſtrain of Lenity and Clemency in compoſing them, all imaginary endeavours were us'd to prepare in *France* for the Campania: The King intended to attack *Flanders* in the Head of all the choice of his Forces, and with the greateſt vigour and impreſſion he could make this Year upon the *Spaniſh* Netherlands; yet the King pretended to be but a Volunteer in the Army, of which he declar'd the Prince of *Condé* General, whether to put the greateſt Compliment he could on ſo great Merit, or to hinder his Brother from making difficulty of acting under that Prince's Orders. And Monſieur *Turenne* was to

be employ'd in *Alſace*, to attend and amuſe as much as he could the *German* Army, for fear of giving the King too much diverſion in *Flanders*; and this with Orders to act by concert with Count *Wrangel*, General of the *Suediſh* Forces in *Pomerania*, who gave hopes of marching ſo far into *Germany* as to concert his Actions, or at leaſt Motions, with thoſe of Monſieur *Turenne*. On the other ſide, the Confederates were as buſie in their proviſions againſt theſe Deſigns. The Elector of *Mentz* was drawn to throw off the remainders of his Neutrality, and to receive the Imperial Troops into his Towns, as *Strasburgh* had done; and practices were ſet on foot to change the temper of the Court of *Bavaria*, with hopes of ſucceſs. *Montecuculi* prepar'd to come down into *Alſace* with the Army of the Emperor and the adjoyning Circles; and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* came to the *Hague* after the Prince of *Orange*'s illneſs, where Treaties were concluded with the King of *Denmark*'s Miniſters, and review'd with the Duke of *Lunenburgh*'s. After which the Elector went immediately away to the relief of his own Subjects and Countrey, then invaded and ſpoil'd by the open hoſti-

hoſtility of the *Swediſh* Forces. Whilſt he was at the *Hague*, the Compliments paſs'd in form between us, but without viſit or enterview, tho the Elector deſir'd and purſu'd it with more inſtance than I well underſtood: For he ſent his Miniſter at the *Hague* firſt to me, and afterwards engag'd the Prince himſelf to endeavour it, by finding ſome expedient in the difficulties of Ceremony, or elſe by propoſing a third Place. But the *French* Ambaſſadors having taken up a form of refuſing to viſit any Elector, unleſs they might have the hand given them in thoſe Princes Houſes, and the Electors having never conſented to it, I told the Prince I could not go lower than the *French* Ambaſſadors did, in that nor any other Point; and that meeting in a third place would look like a ſort of approving the refuſal made by the Electors: And ſo I never ſaw this Prince during his ſtay at the *Hague*, much to my regret, becauſe I had been poſſeſs'd of many qualities very eſteemable in him.

In the mean time, how uſeleſs ſoever for the preſent, yet the forms of His Majeſty's Mediation went on. After it had been accepted by all Parties, the firſt

Point that came to be conſider'd on, was the Place of Treaty, about which the *Suedes* could not ſurmount the difficulties during the courſe of the Mediation. The Houſe of *Auſtria* propos'd to have the Congreſs in ſome of the free Towns of the Empire, as *Frankford*, *Hamburgh*, *Strasburgh*, and ſome others; *France* refus'd ever to come into any Town of the Empire, upon the inſults they receiv'd and complain'd of ſo much at *Cologn*, in the ſeiſure of Prince *William* of *Furſtenburgh*, and a great Summ of the *French* Money there; but offer'd at the ſame time to come and Treat at *Breda*, tho belonging to one of the Parties engag'd in the War, which they would make paſs for a great condeſcention, and teſtimony of that King's inclination to a Peace.

The Confederates on the other ſide would not hear of *Breda*; they took that Propoſition as an Artifice, firſt, to ingratiate with his States beyond the reſt of their Allies; but next, which was the point of importance, they look'd upon it as deſign'd to carry on either a ſeparate Treaty with the States, or at leaſt Private Meaſures and Correſpondencies with ſeveral Towns and Perſons of

of thoſe Provinces, ſo as to induce, or force the State at laſt into a ſeparate Treaty with *France*, upon the difficulties or delays that might ariſe in a General one. And upon this Point the Allies were ſo jealous, that the States Deputies of the Foreign Committee, who manag'd all theſe Affairs in the firſt reſort, thought it neceſſary to ſeem as averſe againſt Treating in any of their Dominions, as any of the Allies. Thus all places in *Germany*, *France*, and the Low-Countries, ſeem'd abſolutely excluded by one part or other; and *London* was diſlik'd by all as too remote, and of difficult and uncertain Commerce for Letters, by reaſon of the Sea. After much perplexity upon this Subject in many Conferences I had with the Deputies, and Diſcourſes with the Penſioner, I propos'd two Places as the only I could think of left for any attempt, upon all circumſtances. The firſt was *Cleve*, which could not be ſaid to belong to the Empire, but to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, as Duke of *Cleve*, and not as a Prince of the Empire. The other was *Nimeguen*, as being the laſt Town belonging to the States, and upon the Borders of *Germany*. Both Towns capable of ſuch

a reception as was neceſſary; both in good Airs, and eaſie of acceſs from all parts; center'd between *Spain* and *Sueden*, between the Empire and *France*, and near *England*, where the Spring of this Treaty was conceiv'd to be. I thought *France* might not diſlike *Cleve*, even upon thoſe regards the Allies ſuſpected of the vicinity to the States; and the Confederates could not except againſt it as belonging to one of them. On t'other ſide, if the Allies approv'd *Cleve*, and *France* ſhould refuſe it, yet they could not afterwards diſapprove of *Nimeguen*, which was but three Leagues nearer the *Hague* or *Amſterdam*, where they ſuſpected the *French* Practices; and diſjoin'd from both by neceſſary paſſage of great Rivers, which made the Commerce more difficult and ſlow than it would be from other Towns of the States Dominions. Another Reaſon was, That I knew no other to name that did not ſeem previouſly excluded; and upon this the Deputies conſented that I ſhould propoſe both to the King, that he might do the ſame to all the Parties; but that I ſhould begin with *Cleve*, which I did.

This

This *France* refus'd, upon pretence of ſome dependence upon the Empire; but, as was thought, upon picque to the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, with whom they were more offended at this time, than with any of the Allies. After this refuſal, and *Nimeguen* being advanc'd, *France* firſt accepted it, and afterwards the Allies, who could not well refuſe it, after having expreſs'd they would have been ſatisfied with *Cleve*; and ſo this Place came to be fixed for the Scene of this Negotiation.

But at the ſame time that *France* accepted the Place of Treaty, they declar'd, That they would not however ſend any Ambaſſadors thither till the Emperor had given them ſatisfaction upon the two Points ſo long inſiſted on, of *Prince* Will. *of* Furſtenburgh's *Liberty*, and *Reſtitution of the Money ſeiz'd at* Colen; which were Points had been hitherto as obſtinately refus'd at *Vienna*, as demanded by *France*: So as theſe paces towards a Peace, gain'd at preſent very little ground, but left way for the Actions and Succeſſes of the enſuing Campania to determine the Times, the Methods, and Conditions of their pretended Treaty.

The *French* began their Action by the Siege

Siege of *Limburgh*, with one part of their Army, whilſt the King with the reſt lay encamp'd in a Poſt moſt convenient to oppoſe any attempt of relieving it, to which purpoſe the Prince was upon his march; but after a ſhort and weak reſiſtance, it was taken before he could approach it: For, beſides ſome delays forc'd by his ſickneſs, he began here to feel the weight that hung about him in all the courſe of this War, from the uncertain and ſlow marches of the *German* Horſe, and the weakneſs and diſorders of the *Spaniſh* Troops, which were neceſſary to make up his Army of ſtrength to oppoſe that of *France*, compos'd of ſuch Numbers, ſuch brave and experienced Troops, and under ſo great a Commander as the Prince of *Conde*, and ſo gallant Officers.

After the taking of *Limburgh*, the *French* and Confederate Armies in *Flanders* fell into no conſiderable Action or Attempt; Neither daring to ſit down before any Place of ſtrength, while the other Army attended them, and was ready to relieve it; and neither ſeeming very earneſt to come to Battle (unleſs with evident Advantages) upon the loſs of which ſo great Conſequences ſeem'd to depend, as the *French* entire Conqueſt

Conqueſt of *Flanders* on the one ſide, or the Confederates marching directly into *France* on the other, after any great Victory. Beſides, they ſeem'd to be amus'd by the expectation of what was likely to paſs in *Germany*, both upon the *Rhine* between the *Imperialiſts* and *French*, and in *Pomerania* between the *Swede* and *Brandenburgh*, which without new Succeſſes in the Low-Countreys, were like to decide, in a great meaſure, the Fate of this War, whilſt the Confederates equally preſum'd of their Succeſſes in *Alſatia*, and the *French* of thoſe of the *Swedes* in the *North*.

About the end of *July*, the King of *France*, weary of a dull Campania, left the Army to the Prince of *Conde*, and return'd with his Court to *Verſailles*; And the ſame Month, His Majeſty, ſeeing the Negotiations of the Peace laid at preſent aſleep, ſent for me to make a ſhort turn into *England*, and give an Account of all the Obſervations I had been able to make abroad upon the preſent Diſpoſitions and Conjunctures, as well as receive his Inſtructions for the future progreſs of his Mediation.

The Parliament in *England*, tho much pleas'd with the laſt Peace in *Holland*, yet

yet were not so with His Majesty's desires of a General One. They thought the Power of *France* too great since their last Conquest in *Flanders*, and their Ambition too declar'd, of atchieving it by one means, and at one time or other. They were suspicious of the Courts favouring too much the *French* Designs, by pursuing a Peace that would break so mighty a Confederacy as was now united against *France*: They were jealous of the Councels which had made the late Alliance and Kindness between Us and *France* in the time of the late Cabal; and besides these Regards, and the common Notions of balancing the Power of our Neighbours, which were very popular, the ambitious Designs of private, but unquiet or aspiring Men, fell in to augment and blow up the general ill humours upon the more Publick Accounts.

The Lord *Shaftsbury*, impatient at his fall from so great a share of the Ministry, and hoping to retrieve a Game he was forc'd to give over, had run desperately into the popular humour both in Parliament and City, of censuring the Court, exclaiming against our partiality to *France*, but most of all against the Conduct of the pre-

preſent Miniſtry. And Lord *Arlington* was ſo enraged at the Growth of my Lord Treaſurer's Credit upon the Fall of His Own, that he fell in with the common humour of the Parliament, in fomenting thoſe Jealouſies and Practices in the Houſe of Commons, which center'd in a Meaſure agreed among the moſt conſiderable of them, *Not to conſent to give the King any Money whilſt the preſent Lord Treaſurer continued.* Upon theſe occaſions or diſpoſitions they grew very high in purſuing the Lord *Lauderdale*, the only remainder of the Cabal that had now any credit left at Court; and they preſſed the King very earneſtly to recall all the *Engliſh* Troops in the *French* Service, tho there was a greater number in the *Dutch*: But beſides they fell into ſo great diſſentions between the Two Houſes, rais'd upon punctilious diſputes, and deductions of their ſeveral Priviledges in oppoſition to one another, that about the end of *June* the King Prorogued them.

Upon my arrival ſoon after, His Majeſty telling me the ſeveral reaſons that had mov'd him to it, ſaid, *That he doubted much while the War laſted abroad, it would give occaſion or pretence for theſe heats*

heats that had of late appeared in the Parliament, and make him very uneasie in his Revenue, which so much needed their assistance; That some of the warm Leaders in both Houses had a mind to engage him in a War with France, *which they should not do for many reasons; and, among the rest, because he was sure if they did, they would leave him in it, and make use of it to ruin his Ministers, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King would desire: but besides all this, he doubled an impertinent quarrel between my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain, did him more disservice in the Parliament than I could imagine; for the last did not care what harm he did his business there, so he could hope to ruin my Lord Treasurer; and had persuaded a great many in the House of Commons, that this would certainly be compass'd, if they were stanch, and declar'd in giving no Money during his Ministry. That he knew they were both my Friends, and therefore desir'd I would try to reconcile them while I stay'd in* England. I endeavour'd it, but fail'd: my Lord *Danby* was very inclinable, being so posted as to desire only to continue where he was; and that the King's business might go well in his hands; but my Lord *Arlington*

ton was ſo uneaſie in the poſture he ſtood, which he attributed chiefly to my Lord Treaſurer's preſent Greatneſs, that he was untreatable upon this Subject: So when I found the Wound was too much rankled to be cur'd, I gave it over; telling each of them, That ſince I could not make them Friends, I would at leaſt live with them both as if they were ſo; and deſir'd them not to expect I ſhould ſacrifice one Friend to another. My Lord Treaſurer was content with this frankneſs; but Lord *Arlington* could not bear this neither, grew dry from this time, and ſtiff in all that paſs'd between us, ſtill mingling little reproaches or touches of my greatneſs with the other; and grew ſo weary of the Scene at Court, where he found himſelf left out, that he went into the Country for the reſt of the Summer.

Thus the ſeeds of diſcontents that had been ſown in the Parliament under the Councels of the Cabal, began to ſpring faſt, and root deep, after their Power and Influence was wholly at an end; and thoſe heats were under other covers fomented by two of the chief that compos'd that Miniſtry, and with help of time and accident grew to ſuch flames

as

as have ſince appear'd. But whatever began or increas'd them, 'tis certain theſe agitations in *England* had great effect upon thoſe of the War and Peace abroad. For the Confederates were confident, that the humour of the Parliament and People would at laſt engage the King in their quarrel, which they knew would force *France* to ſuch a Peace as they deſir'd; and *Spain* was ſo preſuming, that *England* would not ſuffer the loſs of *Flanders*, that they grew careleſs of its Defence, or of thoſe Orders and Supplies that were neceſſary to it; truſting for the preſent to the *Dutch* to preſerve it, and to the King hereafter, whenever he ſhould find it more in danger. And theſe Conſiderations made the Allies leſs inclinable to a Peace, which they might have had cheaper the following Winter, than ever it fell afterwards to their ſhare, by Revolutions that were not foreſeen, but yet ſuch as were ſuſpected at this time, by thoſe that knew the weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, and diviſions of the Imperial Court.

While I ſtay'd in *England*, which was about ſix Weeks, the News came of a great Inſurrection in *Britanny*, which with the Numbers and Rage it began, might

might have prov'd of ill consequence to the *French* Affairs, if it had met with a Head answerable to the Body; but being compos'd of a scum of the mean People, that hated and spoil'd the Nobles of the Province, it was by fair means partly, and by foul, in a little time appeas'd. The Blow which was much more considerable to *France*, than the loss of Provinces would have been, was the death of Monsieur *Turenne*, the News whereof came to Court about the same time. This great Captain had for three months together kept the *Imperial Army* at a Bay on t'other side the *Rhine*; resolv'd not to fight unless with the greatest advantage; his Point being to hinder the *German* Forces from besieging *Philipsburgh*, from posting themselves in the Towns of *Alsace*, but chiefly from entring into *Lorain* or the County of *Burgundy*. All these he perform'd; but being press'd by the Imperialists, and straitned in his Quarters, he suffered much by want of Provisions, and found his Army diminish'd by Sickness and Desertion, which use to follow that condition. At last, being necessitated for want of Forage to force a Post of the Enemies that straitned him most, a warm Skirmish began, and with loss to the

French, that were gall'd with two Pieces of Cannon rais'd upon an Eminence, and playing upon them with advantage. Monſieur *Turenne* reſolv'd to raiſe a Battery to diſmount them; and going with *Saint Hilaire*, a Lieutenant-General, to chuſe a place the moſt convenient for it, the two ſmall Pieces from the Imperial ſide fir'd at them almoſt together; one of the Bullets wounded *Saint Hilaire* in the Shoulder, and t'other, after two or three bounds upon the ground, ſtruck Monſieur *Turenne* upon the Breaſt, and without any apparent Wound, more than the Contuſion, laid him dead upon the place, and by ſuch a Death as *Cæſar* us'd to wiſh for, unexpected, ſudden, and without pain. The aſtoniſhment was unſpeakable in the *French* Camp upon the loſs of ſuch a General; the preſumption as great in that of the Imperialiſts, who reckon'd upon themſelves as Maſters of the whole *French* Army, that was ſtraitned between them and the *Rhine*, in want, diſeas'd, and above all, diſcourag'd by the loſs of their Captain. All others had the ſame expectation upon this news, but all were diſappointed; and Monſieur *de Lorge*'s taking the Command of the Army, had the Honour of making

making a Retreat that was worth a Victory; and by the force of Order and Conduct, with the Bravery of the *Engliſh* Troops, who made ſuch bold Stands in ſeveral places, that they could not be broken till moſt of the Army were march'd off. He paſs'd the *Rhine* in ſight of part of the Imperial Army, and encamp'd himſelf on the other ſide in ſafety, and ſo preſerv'd it till the Prince of *Conde* was ſent in haſte out of *Flanders*, with a great Enforcement, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in *Alſace*.

In the mean time, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* drawing his Forces, with ſome Imperialiſts out of *Sileſia*, together fell upon the *Swedes* in *Pomerania* with that Bravery and Succeſs, that he ſoon beat them out of his part of the Country, and purſu'd them into their own. He had an Interview with the King of *Denmark*, who was now entred into the Intereſts of the Confederates, reſolv'd to declare War againſt *Sweden*, and to that end took his Meaſures with the Duke of *Brandenburgh* how to purſue it with the beſt advantage the reſt of the Seaſon.

When the Prince of *Conde* left *Flanders* to ſucceed Monſieur *Turenne* in *Al-*

face, the Duke of *Lutzenburgh* commanded the Army in *Flanders*, but with Orders not to hazard a Battle, but only to obſerve the Prince of *Orange*'s Motions, and to cover any Town that was like to be endanger'd; which he perform'd ſo well, that no further Action paſs'd this Summer, beſides the Prince's taking and razing of *Binch*. But to make amends for the unactiveneſs of the Campania in *Flanders*, the Confederates by concert on all ſides fell upon an Enterprize of great *eclat*, and of greater conſequence, which was the Siege of *Treves*. The Imperaliſts were bent upon it, to open a Paſſage that way into *France*, finding ſo much Oppoſition in their deſigns of it by *Alſatia*: The *Spaniards* deſir'd it, to make way for their ſuccouring *Lutzenburgh* whenever it ſhould be preſt, which was of the laſt importance to them: The Duke of *Lorain* was violent for it, in hopes of finding a way open'd for his entrance into *Lorain*: The Prince *Palatine* thought it the beſt preparation for Beſieging and Carrying *Philipsburgh*, which was the Thorn in his ſide. So as all theſe join'd part of their Troops together, with ſome of the Elector of *Triers*'s, and a Body of the *Lunenburgh* Forces under the Dukes

Dukes of *Zell* and *Oſnaburgh*, and ſat down before *Treves*.

The Mareſchal *de Crequi* gather'd all the Forces he could out of the neighbouring Provinces, and made up a ſtrong Army to relieve it. The Confederates left part of Theirs to maintain their Retrenchments about the Town, and march'd with the reſt againſt Monſieur *de Crequi*, paſs'd the River in his ſight, attacqued him, beat him out of the Field with great ſlaughter, many Priſoners, and ſuch a diſperſion of the reſt, that the whole Army ſeem'd to have vaniſhed in one day; and Monſieur *de Crequi* got into *Treves* with four or five only in Company: There he made a deſperate reſiſtance for near a Month againſt the Victorious Army, with great Honour and Loſs among the *Engliſh* Troops that were in the Town, and without any hopes of Relief: Nor would he ever capitulate after all the extremities he was reduc'd to by the forms of a Siege, till the Gariſon mutiny'd againſt his obſtinacy, capitulated for themſelves, and delivered up Monſieur *de Crequi* and moſt of the Officers Priſoners to the *Germans*. The Dukes of *Lunenburgh* had great honour in this Action, and the Old Duke of *Lorain*; and

indeed it was one of the moſt vigorous that ſucceeded in the whole courſe of the War, and carried the compleateſt Victory, as well as a very conſiderable Town: And the Honour of it was very much due to the Marquiſs *de Grana*, who commanded the Emperors Forces there, and was eſteem'd to have laid the firſt Deſign to have concerted the ſeveral parts of it, engag'd the ſeveral Parties to reſolve upon the ſame Adventure, and kept them firm in it till it was atchieved. The loſs of Men was very great on the *French* ſide, both in the Fight and the Siege; and added to Monſieur *Turenne*'s Death, and the impreſſion expected upon it on that ſide, by Count *Montecuculi*, with the loſs of the *Swedes*, made ſo great a change in the appearance of Affairs, that His Majeſty in a Letter to me, in *September* after my return to the *Hague*, bid me uſe it as an Argument to induce the Prince of *Orange* to be eaſie in the buſineſs of a Peace, *That it was now time for him to begin to apprehend again the greatneſs of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *inſtead of that of* France. It was indeed expected, that the Imperialiſts in *Alſace* would either enter into *Lorain*, or at leaſt would take the chief

Towns

Towns of *Alſace*, and poſt themſelves ſo the following Winter, as to be ready for ſuch an Enterpriſe in the beginning of the next Spring; and Count *Montecuculi* beſieg'd firſt *Haguenau*, and afterwards *Saberne*, which were the moſt conſiderable Places, to that end. But after *Haguenau* had offer'd to ſurrender upon Conditions, he roſe with his Army to fight the Prince of *Conde*, who made a motion of his Army as if he intended to relieve it; but ſo ordered it, as the *Germans* fail'd both the Battel and the Town. It was never comprehended how *Montecuculi* afterwards came to riſe of a ſudden from the Siege of *Saberne*: Some ſaid, it was upon an expreſs Order from *Vienna* the night before; others, with deſign of fighting the *French* Army, or beſieging *Philipsburgh*; but neither happen'd; and which was worſe than all, he ended the Campania with paſſing back his whole Army over the *Rhine*, and leaving *Alſace* wholly in poſſeſſion, and at mercy of the *French* Troops: Nor have I ever known any Action of ſuch publick Concern ſo unaccountable as this Retreat, ſince 'tis hard to ſuſpect either Corruption or Court-Faction ſhould go ſo far, tho both

were accus'd of having part in this great and almoſt deciſive Event.

The reſentment of it was thought to have broken the old Duke of *Lorain*'s heart, who died about this time, and left Prince *Charles* his Nephew, the ſucceſſion to that Dutchy. No Prince had met with more misfortunes than this Duke, nor had felt them leſs, or given greater Teſtimony of what Philoſophy teaches, That the good or ill of Mens Lives comes more from their Humours than their Fortunes. He was expell'd that Noble and lovely Dutchy by the Arms of *France* in Cardinal *Richlieu*'s time; forc'd to go into the *Spaniſh* Service in *Flanders*, with a Body of *Lorainers* that would follow his Fortune whatever it was; ſtrugl'd with want of Pay to his Troops, with jealouſie and ill uſage of the *Spaniſh* Governours; was ſeiz'd and impriſoned by that Crown; reſtor'd to a ſhattered poſſeſſion of *Lorain* by the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, and in the Year 1670, forc'd to eſcape by night, and almoſt alone by a ſudden ſurprize of the *French* Troops, in the heighth and ſecurity of Peace; after this he never had a home any more for the reſt of his life, which was ſpent in ſuing for Protection

tection and Relief from the ſeveral Princes of *Chriſtendom*, who reſented the injuſtice of his Caſe, which none pretended to defend, but yet none to concern themſelves in it, till upon the laſt War he fell into his ſhare of the Confederacy, with the weight of two or three thouſand *Lorainers* that ſtill followed his Fortune, and entred into the Leagues with the Emperor and moſt of the Allies for his reſtitution. He ſeem'd not to deſerve the Fortune of a Prince, only becauſe he ſeem'd not to care for it; to hate the Conſtraints and Ceremonies that belong to it; and to value no pleaſures in Life, but the moſt natural and moſt eaſie; and while he had them, was never out of humour for wanting the reſt; Generous to his Servants and Soldiers when he had it; and when he wanted, endeavouring to make it up by the Liberties he gave them; very much belov'd and familiar among both: And to give his Picture by a ſmall *trait*, one of his Miniſters told me, That not long before he died, all his Family was a Gentleman of the Horſe (as he was call'd) another of his Chamber, and a Boy that look'd to a little Nag he us'd to ride; one day he call'd for his Horſe; the two firſt told him, the Boy

was

was not to be found. He bid them however get him his Horſe. They could not agree which of them ſhould go and Saddle him, till the Duke bid them go, and one or 'tother of them do it, or elſe he ſwore he would go down and Saddle his Horſe himſelf; they were aſham'd, and 'twas done.

About the ſame time died at the *Hague* the old Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*; a Woman of the moſt Wit, and good Senſe in general, that I have known; and who had thereby a great part in forming the race of the Prince, and the mighty improvement it receiv'd from three very extraordinary Women, as well as three ſo great Men in the laſt Deſcents. None has ſhew'd more the force of Order and Oeconomy than this Princeſs, who with ſmall Revenues, never above Twelve thouſand pounds a year ſince her Husband's death, liv'd always in as great plenty, and more curiouſneſs and elegance than is ſeen in many greater Courts. Among other pieces of Greatneſs, She was conſtantly ſerv'd all in Gold Plate, which went ſo far as to great Bottles for Water, and a great Ciſtern for Bottles, to the Key of her Cloſet, and every thing of that kind She uſually touched;

touched; which I mention, becauſe I think 'tis what the greateſt Kings of *Chriſtendom* have not pretended to do, nor any I have heard of on this ſide *Perſia*.

In *November*, this Year, happen'd a Storm at *North-Weſt*, with a Spring-tide, ſo violent, as gave apprehenſions of ſome loſs irrecoverable to the Province of *Holland*, and by ſeveral breaches in the great Diques near *Enhuſen*, and others between *Amſterdam* and *Harlem*, made way for ſuch Inundations as had not been ſeen before by any man then alive, and fill'd the Countrey with many relations of moſt deplorable Events. But the incredible diligence and unanimous endeavours of the People upon ſuch occaſions, gave a ſtop to the fury of that Element, and made way for recovering next year all the Lands, tho not the People, Cattel, and Houſes that had been loſt.

Before the end of the Year, the *Danes* took *Wiſmar* from the *Suedes*, and by an open War thoſe two Crowns came to be engag'd in the common quarrel; and after a great expectation of ſome extraordinary ſucceſſes in the *Spaniſh* Affairs from *Don John*'s intended Expedition into

into *Italy*, to Command rll the Forces and Provinces of that Crown both there and in *Sicily*, when he was ready to go and meet *de Ruyter* at *Barcelona*, who attended him there with the *Dutch* Fleet deſign'd for *Meſſina*, he was by a Court-Intrigue recall'd to *Madrid*; the King was then arrived in his Fourteenth Year, and took upon him the Government, as now in Majority: and by the advice of ſome near him in favour, writ a Letter to *Don John* to invite him to Court, to aſſiſt him in the Government; he obey'd, but ſtay'd not there above a Fortnight or three Weeks, till by the Credit and Authority of the Queen Mother, he was forc'd to quit his ground there, and return to *Saragoza*; and ſo vaniſh'd a mighty expectation that had been rais'd in *Spain*, and other places, of great effects that were to follow this Prince's coming to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and very great Summs of Money were wholly loſt that had been imploy'd in the preparations of his Journey and Equipage for *Italy*. And *Sicily* was left almoſt hopeleſs of recovery, from the ſucceſſes of the *French*, who had taken many Poſts about *Meſſina*, and threatn'd many more; and other Towns were fear'd to fol-

follow the example of that great Revolt.

After the Prince's return from the Campania to the *Hague* in *October*, I had ſeveral Conferences with him upon the ſubject of the Peace, and the Terms that both His Majeſty and the States might think reaſonable, between *France* and *Spain*, and both thoſe Crowns be in any probability of conſenting to. That which *France* pretended, was the Terms of the Peace of *Aix*, and retaining the County of *Burgundy*, which had been ſince Conquer'd; or if either this Province, or ſome of the moſt important Frontier Towns of *Flanders* ſhould be reſtor'd, then an equivalent to be made them for ſuch reſtitution. The *Spaniards* talk'd of nothing leſs than the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, and that they would rather loſe the reſt of *Flanders* by the War, than part with *Burgundy* by the Peace; and ſaid, both the King and the States were as much concern'd in *Flanders*, as the Crown of *Spain*; and had the ſame intereſt to ſee it ſafe by a War or a Peace, which could not be by ſuch a Frontier as was left by that of *Aix*.

That which my Lord *Arlington* had propos'd to the Prince and Penſioner, and

and which pass'd for His Majesty's Sentiment, tho he pretended no Orders, was the terms of *Aix la Chapelle*; but in regard of the necessity for the *Spaniards* to have a better Frontier in *Flanders* than was left by that Peace, That the *French* should give up *Aeth*, and *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, for *Aix* and *St. Omer*: And that if they parted with the County of *Burgundy*, it should be for something in exchange. His Majesty commanded me to assure the Prince, That if a Peace could be made upon these terms, or any so near them, that He might hope to obtain the consent of *France*, His Majesty for the security of *Flanders*, would give his own Guaranty to the Peace, and enter into the strictest Alliance the States could desire for preserving it, or defending *Flanders*, in case of a new Rupture. He bid me further assure the Prince, That for his Patrimonial Lands in *Burgundy* (which were about Eight thousand pounds a year, and Lordships of the greatest Royalty in that County) he would undertake for his secure possessing them, tho that County should remain in the *French* hands, or for selling them to that King, and at what price the Prince himself could think fit to value them. The

The Prince's Anſwer was, That for his own part, he could be very well content to leave the Terms of a Peace to His Majeſty himſelf, and believ'd the States would do ſo too; but they were both ingag'd by Treaty and Honour to their Allies, and there was no thought of making Peace without them. That he believ'd the *Spaniards* might be perſuaded to do it upon the terms of *Aix*, with reſtitution only of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, towards compoſing ſome kind of neceſſary Frontier on that ſide; but to part with *Aix* and *St. Omer* without any further and greater exchange, He believ'd they would not in the preſent poſture of things. That for *France* retaining the County of *Burgundy*, as Conquer'd in this laſt War, he was ſure neither *Spain* nor the Emperor would ever conſent to it, unleſs they were beaten into it by diſaſters they had no reaſon to expect; tho' for his own part, he ſhould be content with it, provided the *French* would reſtore *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Liſle*, and *Doway*, with their dependencies, to the *Spaniards* in lieu of it, becauſe by that means *Flanders* would have a ſecure Frontier on that ſide, and a reaſonable good one by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* on

on the other; and the ſecurity of *Flanders* was the chief intereſt of the States upon the Peace. That for himſelf, he thank'd his Majeſty for his offer, as to his Lands in *Burgundy*; but they never came into his thought upon the Terms of a Peace, nor ſhould ever hinder it; but on t'other ſide, he would be content to loſe them all, to gain one good Town more for the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*.

When I put him in mind, as the King order'd me, of the apprehenſions He and the States might have of the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if their Succeſſes continued; he told me, *There was no need of that, till they ſhould go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrenees: *whenever that ſhould happen, he ſhould be as much a* French-man *as he was now a* Spaniard, *but not before.* He ended, in deſiring, That whatever *Plan* His Majeſty thought fit to propoſe for a Peace, he would do it at the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*; for the number and variety of Pretenſions and Intereſts were grown ſo great, by all the Parties now engag'd in a War, that it could not be done in any other place; and for his part, he could never conſent to any Treaty ſeparate from his Allies. That he believ'd they would be reaſonable;

ble; and if *France* would be ſo too, the Peace might me made; if not, perhaps another Campania might bring them to Reaſon: and that this might have done it, if ſome Differences between him and the *Spaniards*, in the Actions propos'd, had not hinder'd the Succeſſes they hop'd for in *Flanders*, and if *Montecuculi*'s Impatience to be at *Vienna*, and paſs the Winter there upon the Factions ſtirring at Court, had not made him repaſs the *Rhine*, and take his Winter-Quarters in the Circles of the Empire there; becauſe if he had done it in *Alſace*, he doubted his preſence with the Army might be thought neceſſary.

After this Conference, and no return from his Majeſty to the Account I gave him of it, the Diſcourſe ceaſed of private Meaſures to be agreed to between His Majeſty, and the Prince, and States, for promoting a Peace; and all Thoughts began now to turn upon forming the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*.

I had another Teſtimony given me of the Firmneſs I had always found in the Prince upon the Subject of the Peace, by what one of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters told me had lately paſs'd between him and the Duke of *Villa Hermoſa*. His

Highneſs had a long pretence depending at *Madrid*, for about two hundred thouſand pounds owing to his Family from that Crown ſince the Peace of *Munſter*. It had ever been delay'd, tho never refus'd; an Agent from the Prince had of late very much preſs'd the Queen Regent of *Spain* upon this Subject, and with much ado had obtain'd an Order for Fifty thouſand pounds, and Bills were put into his hands by the Miniſters there, which when they arriv'd in *Flanders*, inſtead of being pay'd, they were Proteſted. The Duke *Villa Hermoſa* was ſo aſham'd of this Treatment, that he ſent a Perſon purpoſely to excuſe it to the Prince, and aſſure him the fault was not in the Queen nor Miniſters, but only in the choice of hands by which it was tranſmitted, and deſir'd his Highneſs would not take it ill of the Queen. The Prince anſwer'd, No, not at all; on t'other ſide I have reaſon to take it well of the Queen, for if ſhe did not think me the honeſteſt Man in the World, ſhe would not uſe me ſo; however, nothing of this kind ſhall hinder me from doing what I owe to my Allies, or to my Honour.

Not-

Notwithstanding all I had written from the Prince to His Majesty upon this Subject, yet my Lord *Arlington*, upon pretended intelligence from his Relations in *Holland*, endeavour'd to persuade him that he knew not the Prince's mind for want of some body that had more credit with him than I had; and at the same time he pursu'd the Prince by Letters, to desire the King to send over some such Person as he might treat with in the last confidence upon all matters between them. The Prince shew'd me his Letters, and bid me assure the King and my Lord Treasurer, that he could say no more than he had done to me, and would not say so much to any other Man. However, my Lord *Arlington* upon the former suggestions, prevail'd with the King to send over Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* instructed, to know the bottom of the Prince's Mind upon the Subject of the Peace, before the Campania began. He acquainted the Prince with this resolution, and that he was a Person they knew His Highness would trust; The Prince shewed me this Letter too, and said, He knew not what he meant; that Lord *Arlington* knew as well as any Man how far he trusted both Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*

and me; This good uſage ended all Correſpondence between Lord *Arlington* and me, which had laſted by Letters to this time, tho' coldly ſince my being laſt in *England*: But upon Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* coming to the *Hague* in *January*, and my preparation to go for *Nimeguen*, I ended that ſcent, having not learn'd enough of the Age, nor the Court I liv'd in, to act an unſincere part either in Friendſhip, or in Love.

When Sir *Gabriel* came to the *Hague*, he paſs'd for a Man of ſome great intrigue, was perpetually at Court, or in Converſation and Viſits with the perſons near the Prince, or moſt imploy'd in the State; but he and Lord *Arlington* were ſoon ſatisfied to how good purpoſe he came over; for the Prince, who is the ſincereſt Man in the World, hating all Tricks, and thoſe that uſe them, gave him no mark of the leaſt confidence while he ſtayed, and ſent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by truſting another hand with all he writ of conſequence into *England*, before he went into the Field. The truth is, the Prince took his Journey of this to have been deſign'd by my Lord *Arlington*, both out of ſpight to me, and to give jea-

jealouſies to the Confederates, by the ſuſpicion of ſomething in agitation between the King and the Prince, that I was not thought fit to be truſted with; and indeed ſeveral of their Miniſters at the *Hague* were apt to fall into ſuch ſurmiſes: But Monſieur *de Lyra*, a *Spaniſh* Miniſter, a Perſon much credited in his own Court, and much in the Prince's Confidence, was ever firm in the belief of His Highneſſes Honour and Conſtancy (which he us'd to ſay his Maſter truſted to, more than to any Treaties) and ſo help'd to prevent ſuch impreſſions.

In the mean time, all motions neceſſary towards forming the Congreſs at *Nimeguen* began to be made by the ſeveral Parties, and gave appearances of the Ambaſſadors meeting ſuddenly there. The great obſtruction hitherto had been the point of Prince *William* of *Furſtenburgh*'s Liberty, which *France* had ſo abſolutely inſiſted on before they ſent their Ambaſſadors, and the Emperor had been induced to promiſe only upon concluſion of the Treaty. But an Expedient was found out to ſalve the Honour of *France* upon this point, rather than the Treaty ſhould be hinder'd, which was at that

time thought neceſſary for their Affairs. The Biſhop of *Straſburgh* made a formal Requeſt to the King of *France*, That no Private Intereſts, or Reſpects of his Brother, might delay the Treaty of a Peace which was of ſo much conſequence to all *Chriſtendom*; and this Requeſt being at this time eaſily receiv'd and granted, no further difficulty was made upon this Point.

His Majeſty thereupon invited all the Princes concern'd in the War, to haſten away their Miniſters to the place of Congreſs, and acquainted them with his having order'd his own to repair immediately thither; and having ſome Months before appointed the Lord *Berkley* (the Ambaſſador at *Paris*) Sir *William Temple*, and Sir *Lionel Jenkings* His Ambaſſadors, Mediators, and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; Sir *Lionel* was accordingly diſpatch'd away, and arriv'd at the *Hague* towards the end of *January* 1676, and brought with him our Inſtructions for that Ambaſſy; and after ſome few days ſtay at the *Hague*, went away for *Nimeguen*. But the Expedition of the Paſports, from and to all the Miniſters of the ſeveral Parties, having been for ſome time under my care, and many of

of them come to my hands, tho others were entangled ſtill in ſome difficulty or other, we both concluded it neceſſary for me to continue at the *Hague* till this was diſpatch'd, whilſt Sir *Lionel* ſhould go upon the place of Congreſs, and by the preſence of a Mediator, invite the reſt to make more haſte than many of them ſeem'd diſpos'd to at this time.

The *French* Ambaſſadors were already come to *Charleville*, where they ſtay'd for their Paſſports only to go on with their Journey; and upon Sir *Lionel's* arrival at the *Hague*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors came to us to acquaint us with the States Orders for their immediate repair to *Nimeguen*, and for the Magiſtrates of that City (which they now conſider'd as a Neutral Town) to receive all Orders from us the Mediators, and particularly any we pleas'd to give about our reception upon our arrival there.

We told them His Majeſty's thoughts were upon the Succeſſes of the Treaty, and that nothing could more obſtruct it than the Ceremonies which uſed to attend thoſe Meetings; and therefore he order'd us to introduce as much as we could the method of all the Ambaſſadors,

living there as much like private Men, as could consist with the Honour of their Characters; and to this end, that we should make no publick Entries, and give thereby an example to those that came after us.

To avoid all punctilio's about the time of the several Parties dispatching the Passports, it was agreed that all should be sent to the *Hague* from the several Courts, and there should be put into my hands; to the end, that when I found my self possess'd, I should make the distribution reciprocally to both Parties at the same time. Those of *France* were early with me, but short in some points of those from the Confederates; the chief whereof was the omission of Liberty granted to the Ambassadors to dispatch Couriers to their Masters Courts upon Passports of the respective Ambassadors, which was thought necessary for the progress of the Treaty. Another was the omission of Passports for the Duke of *Lorain*'s Ministers in the form usual and expected; for whereas the Crown of *France* had always treated the former Dukes of *Lorain* with the Titles of Duke, and Appellations of Brother; their Passports now treated the new

Duke

Duke only with *Couſin*, and *Prince* Charles *of* Lorain; the reſt were minute differences, or miſtakes of words, which are not worth the mention, and were eaſily ſurmounted. Of all theſe His Majeſty had early notice, and imploy'd his Offices towards *France* for ſome months, without anſwer upon that of *Lorain*, and with poſitive refuſal of inſerting the Clauſe for liberty of Paſſports; tho' Monſieur *Van Beuningham* ſeveral times during this pauſe writ to the States, That the King often aſſur'd him (their Ambaſſador at *London*,) That there ſhould be no difficulty in the buſineſs of *Lorain*.

About the beginning of *February* this Year 1676, I receiv'd a Letter from Monſieur *Pompone*, then Secretary for the Foreign Affairs in *France*, to tell me, That his Maſter having been acquainted from His Majeſty with the difficulties occurr'd in forming the Congreſs, had order'd him to let me know his Reaſons upon them. As to that of Couriers, That he thought it not fit to have his Countreys and Towns lie open to his Enemies Obſervations and Diſcoveries, upon pretext of ſuch Couriers frequent paſſage; That the inconvenience would be the ſame to the Confederates; and that he ask'd

ask'd no more than he gave. As to the Point of *Lorain*, That his Maſter could not give Paſſports with the ſtile of *Duke*, which carried that of *Brother*, pretending that Dutchy belong'd to His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty by the Treaty in 1662. between him and the laſt Duke.

Not many days after, I receiv'd notice from Secretary *Williamſon*, of the ſame Account having been given His Majeſty by Monſieur *Ruvigny*, with order to acquaint the States with it; which I had not done upon Monſieur *Pompone*'s Letter, as not thinking fit to make any paces in theſe matters without Orders from His Majeſty. The States and all their Allies were very much ſurpriz'd with this pretence of *Lorain*, which *France* had never before advanc'd, or ſo much as mention'd, either upon the ſeiſure of that Dutchy, or ſince that time. In the Accounts of it by their Miniſters in the ſeveral Courts of *Chriſtendom*, they had only profeſs'd to have found ſuch a ſeiſure neceſſary for preſerving the Peace wherein *Chriſtendom* then was, from the dangerous or uncertain diſpoſitions of that preſent Duke, with whom His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty could take no certain Meaſures, and his Enemies would be practi-

practising; but that it was without any intention of retaining any part of that Dutchy otherwise than for this end of preserving the Peace of *Christendom*. All this, with many more Circumstances, Monsieur *Serinchamps*, the *Lorain* Envoy, alledged at the Conferences with the States and Allies upon this occasion; and for the Treaty of 1662. he seem'd to wonder it should ever be mention'd, as a thing wholly invalid, and, as every body thought, thereupon long since forgotten; That the last Duke had no power to dispose of that Dutchy from his Nephew; because if the *Salique Law* had place in *Lorain*, it was unalinable from the next Heir-male: if the Feminine Succession, then that Duke himself had no Title at all to it, but it belong'd to the present Duke, even in the life of his Uncle. Secondly, That it was invalid, by the *French* non-performance of the only Condition on their side, upon which the Old Duke pretended to have made it; which was, *That the Princes of that Family should be assum'd into the Rank of Princes of the Blood in* France; and that upon registring that Treaty of 1662. in the Parliament of *Paris*, without that Clause, the Old Duke had declar'd it

void

void within three weeks after it was made. Thirdly, That a Treaty was concluded the Year after, being 1663, at *Marſal*, between the Moſt Chriſtian King and the ſaid Duke, by which he was to continue the poſſeſſion of all his Territories, beſides *Marſal*, in the ſame manner as he enjoy'd them by the Treaty of 1661, as he did till the ſeiſure of them by *France* in 1670, during a profound Peace, and with the Profeſſions above-mentioned made by *France* to His Majeſty at that time (as Monſieur *Serinchamps* averred) as well as to the other Courts of *Chriſtendom*.

Theſe Arguments were of ſuch force with all the Confederates, that they were unanimous and firm in poſitively inſiſting upon the Paſſports of that Duke, with the uſual forms; and the more, ſince *France* had advanc'd a pretence to that Dutchy, which was never thought of before among the Allies. The *Auſtrian* Miniſters told me frankly, That the Treaty ſhould never be without this allowance of the Duke of *Lorain*'s Title, nor the Peace without his Reſtitution. The States ſaid, They for their parts would willingly refer this, and any other matters concerning the Treaty, to

His

His Majesty's arbitration; but that they were bound already by other Treaties to their Allies; and particularly, to the Duke of *Lorain*, and could not break from them upon a Point of such apparent Right as this. The Prince spoke the same Language; and said further, That he was bound by his Oath of Stadtholder, among other things, to endeavour to the utmost of his power to keep the States to the due observance of their Treaties; and so, by the Grace of God, he would do in This as well as in Others.

All this being signified to His Majesty, and by him to *France*, that Court continued peremptory in the matter; and the Allies persisting in the same disposition, the Congress began to be look'd upon from all sides as a thing ended before it began. The Allies took this pretence for a Declaration from *France* of their resolution there should be no Treaty at present, and grounded it upon some great expectation or design they had upon further progresses in *Sicily*, or new ones in *Naples*, or else from hopes of bringing in the *Poles* to the assistance of *Sweden*.

But the truth was, That *France* had been forc'd to discover upon this Incident

dent what they had always at heart; and I ever obſerved, in the courſe of all theſe Negotiations, that there were three Points for which *France* thought the War worth continuing to the laſt extremity, which were, Rather than reſtore *Lorain* or *Burgundy*, or leave a good Frontier on both ſides of the *Spaniſh* Territories in *Flanders*. The laſt would hinder the progreſs of their great Deſign, whether of extending their Empire only to the *Rhine*, or beyond it: The two firſt would hinder their Conqueſt of *Flanders*, whenever they purſu'd the finiſhing of that Adventure, by leaving a paſſage for the *Germans* to relieve it, and by ſo great and dangerous a diverſion as entring *France* through *Lorain* or *Burgundy*.

His Majeſty moſt certainly diſapproved, and was ſurpriz'd with this pretence of *France* to the Dutchy of *Lorain*; but yet was prevail'd with by Monſieur *Ruvigny* to offer the expedient of His Majeſty as Mediator, giving all Paſſports neceſſary to the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*. Monſieur *Van Beuningham* in this matter acted the part rather of a *Burgomaſter of Amſterdam*, than an *Ambaſſador of the States*; and to make court

court to that Town, who began to expreſs great impatience for the Peace, he aſſur'd His Majeſty, That his Maſters could not fail of conſenting to this expedient. I foreſaw it would be refus'd, and gave His Majeſty notice of it before I propos'd it to the States, as thinking his Honour and that of the Mediation concern'd in ſuch a refuſal; but receiving direct Orders to propoſe it, I did ſo. The States told me, They would of themſelves conſent to this, or whatever elſe His Majeſty ſhould propoſe; but having communicated it to their Allies, they would not hear of it; ſome refuſing it with heat, and reflecting upon His Majeſty's partiality to *France*; others with ſullenneſs and ſilence, referring themſelves to new Orders from their Maſters.

Hereupon the Congreſs grew wholly deſperate, and all Parties prepar'd for the Field, without any other View for the three months following the firſt riſe of this Pretenſion. In the mean time, there paſs'd a Fight between the *French* and *Dutch*, and *Spaniſh* Ships near *Meſſina*, wherein *De Ruyter* was ſhot in the Heel by a Cannon-bullet, of which he died within few days after, and determined the greateſt loſs to have certainly hap-

happen'd on that ſide, by that of the ableſt Sea Captain of his Age, and the beſt Servant that any Prince or State could have: For the reſt, the Advantage was not conſiderable of either part in this Fight, nor the conſequence material in the progreſs of the *French* Arms in *Sicily*, or in any proſpect of great Enterpriſes upon *Naples*. On the other ſide, the *Swediſh* Affairs went very ill in *Pomerania*, and were threatned with great Invaſions the following Campagn, both from *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*. This decry'd the Councels of thoſe Perſons that engag'd them in this Quarrel. Two Ambaſſadors, Count *Oxenſtern* and *Olivacrown*, were appointed for the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, who had been ever of contrary Sentiments of Faction, which now began to prevail in the *Swediſh* Court: They grew impatient for a Peace, and for the Treaty in order to it: They declar'd their diſapproval of the *French* Pretenſions rais'd to *Lorain*, which ſeem'd only to obſtruct it; and that they would ſend their Miniſters to the Congreſs, whether the *French* came or no: and their commiſſary at the *Hague* ſo well ſeconded theſe new diſpoſitions of his Court, that whilſt the Congreſs look'd deſparate by the

the declar'd Obſtinacy of both ſides upon the Point of *Lorain*, Ships and Paſſports were dipatch'd by the States with Conſent of their Allies, to fetch the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador from *Gottenburgh* into *Holland*.

The Confederates were beſides, much animated in their Hopes, from the Diſpoſitions and Humours expreſs'd in a late Seſſion of Parliament in *England*, which grew ſo high againſt the *French*, or at leaſt upon that pretence, againſt the preſent Conduct of his Majeſty or his Miniſters, that the King prorogu'd them about *Chriſtmas*, before any of the matters projected by the warm Men amongſt the Houſe of Commons were brought into form.

The *French* were upon their March into *Flanders*, and that King at the Head of a great and brave Army, threatning ſome great Enterprize. The Prince was preparing to go away into the Field, with Reſolution and Hopes of having the Honour of a Battel at the opening of the Campania; all thoughts of the Congreſs meeting before the End of it, were laid aſide, when about the middle of *May* I was extreamly ſurprized to receive a Pacquet from Secretary *Williamſon*, with the *French* Paſſports for the

Duke of *Lorain*'s Miniſters, in the Form, and with the Styles demanded by the Allies. And hereupon all difficulties being remov'd, the Paſſports were exchang'd by the end of *May*.

Some days were loſt by a new demand of the Allies for Paſſports likewiſe for the Duke of *Nieuburgh*'s Miniſters, who was newly entred into the common Alliance; and the ſame paces were expected likewiſe from the Duke of *Bavaria*; (at leaſt ſo the *Germans* flatter'd themſelves or their Friends.) Upon this, ſome of the Miniſters of the Allies at the *Hague*, whoſe Maſters were very unwiling the Congreſs ſhould begin before the Campania ended, prevail'd with the States to ſend Deputies to me, to demand Paſſports for the Duke of *Nieuburgh*, and any other Princes that ſhould enter into their Alliance; and to declare, That if theſe were refus'd by *France*, they would look upon what had been already granted, as void.

I was ſomething ſurpriz'd at ſo unexpected a Meſſage from the States; and told their Deputies, That ſuch a Reſolution was unpracticable; That His Majeſty had undertaken to procure Paſſports for the Parties engag'd in the War, and all

all the Allies they had named on both ſides, which was done, and thereupon the Congreſs ready to begin; and ſuch a delay as this would occaſion, was both a Diſreſpect to his Majeſty, and that could not be conſented to by *France*, nor the Reciprocal of it by any of the Allies that foreſaw the Conſequences which might happen upon it; That ſome Ally of *France* might fall off to the Confederates, or ſome of the Confederates to *France*, and with ſuch Circumſtances, as it could not be expected either of them ſhould think fit to give Paſſports, or treat with them at the Congreſs; nor was it a thing in any form, to demand Paſſports, without naming for whom they ſhould be. After ſeveral other Exceptions, the Deputies deſired me to let them repreſent my Reaſons againſt it, to the States, and to expect their Anſwer till the next Afternoon; and one of them told me as he went out, that I had all the reaſon in the World, and that they had been too eaſie in it upon the Inſtances of ſome Allies. Next day the Deputies came to let me know, the States had altered their Reſolution, and deſired only, That his Majeſty would procure Paſſports for the Duke of *Neuburgh*'s Miniſters, which I

eaſily undertook. This Change had not paſt without violent Heats between the States Deputies and the Miniſters of ſome Allies; who preſs'd them ſo far, as one of the Deputies anſwer'd him, *Que pretendez vous donc Meſſieurs, de nous faire, deſchirer par la Canaille?* Which ſhews the Diſpoſition that run ſo generally at this time throughout the Trading Provinces towards a Peace.

What do you intend then, Sirs, to make us be torn in pieces by the Rabble?

There remain'd now but one Preliminary undetermin'd, which was, To fix ſome extent of Neutral Country about the Place of Congreſs; *France* would have extended it two Leagues round; the Allies would have it bounded of one ſide by the River of the *Waal*, upon which *Nimeguen* ſtood, and was divided by it from the *Betow*, a part of the Province of *Holland*, and through which lay the ſtraight Road into the reſt of that Country. Both theſe Propoſals were grounded upon the ſame reaſon: That of *France* to facilitate the Commerce of their Ambaſſadors with the Towns of *Holland*, incite the Deſires, and enter into Practices of Peace diſtinct from the Motions of the Congreſs; That of the Allies, to prevent or encumber the too eaſie and un-

undiſcovered Paſſage of the *French* Emiſſaries upon this Occaſion. However, both were poſitive in their Opinions; ſo as this matter came not to be determin'd till ſome time after the Congreſs began, and but lamely then.

CHAP. II.

THE Prince was now ready to go into the Field, and told me, That before he went, he muſt have ſome talk with me in private, and at leiſure; and, to that purpoſe, deſir'd it might be in the Garden of *Hounſlerdyke*. We appointed the Hour, and met accordingly. He told me, I would eaſily believe, that being the only Son that was left of his Family, he was often preſs'd by his Friends to think of marrying, and had many Perſons propos'd to him, as their ſeveral Humours led them. That, for his own part, he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the Thoughts of it otherwiſe than in general, till the War was ended. That, beſides his own Friends, the Deputies of the States begun to preſs him more earneſtly every day, and the more as they ſaw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more reaſon to do it than any others. That he had at laſt promis'd them he would think of it more ſeriouſly and particularly; and ſo he had, and reſolv'd he would marry

marry; but the Choice of a Person he thought more difficult, That he found himself inclin'd to no Proposals had been made him out of *France* or *Germany*, nor indeed to any that had been mentioned upon this Occasion by any of his Friends, but that of *England*. That before he concluded to make any paces that way, he was resolv'd to have my Opinion upon two Points; but yet would not ask it, unless I promised to answer him as a Friend, or at least an indifferent Person, and not as the King's Ambassador. When I told him he should be obey'd, he went on, and said, That he would confess to me, during the late War, neither the States nor He in particular, were without Appellations made them from several Persons, and considerable, in *England*, who would fain have engaged them to head the Discontents that were raised by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was bagun and carried on quite contrary to the humour of the Nation, and might, perhaps, have prov'd very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did. That all these Persons who pretended to be much his Friends, were extreamly against any Thoughts of his marrying in

England. Their Reasons were, That he would by it lose all the Esteem and Interest he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Dispositions and Designs of the Court, which were generally thought so different from those of the Nation, especially upon the Point of Religion, that his Friends there did not believe the Government could be long without some great Disturbance, unless they chang'd their Measures, which was not esteem'd very likely to be done; and upon this he desired my Thoughts as a Friend. The next was upon the Person and Dispositions of the young Lady; for tho' it would not pass in the World, for a Prince to seem concern'd in those particulars; yet for himself, he would tell me, without any sort of Affectation, that he was so, and in such a degree, that no Circumstances of Fortune or Interest would engage him, without those of the Person, especially those of Humour and Dispositions. That he might, perhaps, be not very easie for a Wife to live with; he was sure he should not to such Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age. That if he should meet with one to give him Trouble at home, 'twas what he should not be able to bear, who was

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like to have enough abroad in the course of his Life; and that after the manner he was resolv'd to live with a Wife, which should be the best he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon their Disposition and Education; and if I knew any thing particular of the Lady *Mary* in these points, he desired me to tell him freely.

I answer'd his Highness, That I was very glad to find he was resolv'd to marry, being what he owed his Family and Friends; That I was much more pleas'd that his Inclinations led him to endeavour it in *England*. That I thought it as much for his Interest, as others of his *English* Friends thought it was against it. That the King and his Highness would ever be able to do one another more good and more harm, than any other Princes could do either of them, by being Friends or Enemies. That it was a great Step to be one Degree nearer the Crown, and in all Appearance the next. That for his Friends (as they pretended) in *England*, they must see much further than I did, to believe the King in any such Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin'd. That the Crown of *England* stood

upon

upon ſurer Foundations than ever it had done in former times, and the more for what had paſs'd in the laſt Reign; and that I believed the People would be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himſelf believ'd them. That it was, however in his power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to make as ſhort turns to ſuch an end; if not, yet with the Help of a little good Husbandry, he might paſs his Reign in Peace, tho' not perhaps with ſo much eaſe at home, or Glory abroad, as if he fell into the vein of his People. That if the Court were of Sentiments different from thoſe of his Highneſs, yet his Adviſers would make him a greater Compliment, in believing him as likely to induce the Court to his, as in concluding they would bring him to theirs; and if that ſhould happen, the moſt ſeditious Men in *England* would be hard put to it to find an ill ſide in ſuch a Match. That for the other point, I could ſay nothing to it, but that I had always heard my Wife and my Siſter ſpeak with all the Advantage that could be of what they could diſcern in a Princeſs ſo young, and more from what they had been told by the Governeſs with whom they had a particular Friendſhip,

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and who, they were ſure took all the care that could be in ſo much of Education as fell to her ſhare.

After two Hours Diſcourſe upon this Subject, the Prince concluded he would enter upon this Purſuit; and in order to it, would write both to the King and the Duke to beg their Favour to him in it, and their leave that he might go over into *England* at the end of the Campania, That my Wife, who was then going over upon my private Affairs, ſhould carry and deliver both his Letters; and during her ſtay there, ſhould endeavour to inform her ſelf the moſt particularly ſhe could, of all that concern'd the Perſon, Humour, and Diſpoſitions of the young Princeſs, in which he ſeem'd ſo much concern'd.

Within two or three Days after theſe Diſcourſes, the Prince brought his Letters to my Wife, and went immediately to the Army, and ſhe went ſuddenly after into *England* with thoſe Diſpatches, and left me preparing for my Journey to *Nimeguen*, where the *Dutch* firſt, and after them the *French* Ambaſſadors were arrived, and conſequently thoſe of the two principal Parties in the War.

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Before I went, *Du Moulin* met my Chaplain in the *Forhaut*, and told him, he was so ill, that he knew he had not long to live, and that he could not die in quiet, without asking my Pardon for so many false and injurious things as he confess'd to have said of me since my last Ambassy there, tho' he had before had all the esteem that could be for me. He desired my Chaplain, since I had always refus'd to see him, that he would do this Office for him, and ask my Pardon as from a dying Man. This *Moulin*, after having been much employ'd and favour'd by my Lord *Arlington*, during the Councels and Vogue of the Triple Alliance, and disgrac'd by him after the Change of those Measures in *England*, went over into *Holland*, was entertained by the Prince as one of his Secretaries, grew into great Favour and Confidence during the War, was made use of by the Discontents of *England* in their Applications at the *Hague*, was thought worth all my Lord *Arlington*'s Instances and Endeavours when he was at the *Hague*, to remove him from the Prince's Service. I received afterwards commands to the same purpose, and compass'd it not without time and difficulty; he had not been long

long laid aside when this happen'd; and whether that, or the Knowledge of the Prince's late Resolution to pursue the Match in *England*, help'd to break his Heart, or whether it were a Consumption, as his Friends gave out, I know not, but he died soon after, and with him the Intrigues of that Party in *England*, that had for some time imployed him, and busied his Friends in *Holland*.

After many Delays in the Dispatch, and Exchange of the Passports, I got loose from the *Hague* about the beginning of *July* 1676, upon my Journey to *Nimeguen*, where the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors being already arriv'd, press'd very much for my coming, in regard Sir *Lionel Jenkins* excus'd himself from performing any Acts or Offices of the Mediation till my Arrival, and contented himself to pass only the usual Visits. The Dispositions I observ'd in the several Parties towards the Success of this Congress, when I went in order to the opening of it, were very different and very unlikely to draw it to any sudden Issue; but only to attend and be governed by the Successes of the several Armies in the Field, and the Events expected from the Actions of the Campania.

nia. The *French* had given all the Facility they could for ſome Months paſt to the forming of the Congreſs, and made all the Haſte they could for their Ambaſſadors to be upon the Place, deſiring no better Peace than upon the preſent *Plan* of Affairs; and hoping by their Forwardneſs, and the great Backwardneſs of ſome of the Allies, to make way for ſome ſeparate Treaties with thoſe among them who began to be impatient for the Peace. The Houſe of *Auſtria* was ſullen, as Loſers uſe to be, and ſo were very ſlow and reſty in all their Paces towards this Treaty; The *Germans* hoping for great Succeſſes of their Arms in this Campania, and the *Spaniards* flattering themſelves with the Intereſts his Majeſty had in the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and with the part which the Parliament in *England* ſeem'd of late to have taken in their Affairs, and both were in hopes that ſomething might ariſe from one of theſe ſides, to make room for Pretenſions that could not be in Countenance as things ſtood at preſent. The *Swede* was very earneſt for a Peace, as having more Hopes of recovering himſelf that way, than by the Courſe of a War. *Denmark* and *Bran-*

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denburgh were violent for continuing the War, finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and unrelievable by *France* any otherwise than with their Monies, and hoping to drive them this Summer out of *Germany*. The States were very desirous of the Peace, having no Pretences of their own, but to get well out of a War that ruined their Trade, and drain'd their Money, but they durst not break from their Confederates, nor trusting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, so as to leave themselves in a Condition of depending upon either of them after the Peace should be made. One general Thread run through the Councils on both sides; on the *French* to break the Confidence and Union of the Confederacy by different Paces and Advances to the several Parties in the course of the Treaty; on the Confederates, to preserve the same Confidence and Union with which they had carried on the War, even after the Peace should be made. His Majesty, tho' he was offer'd by some of the Parties to be Arbiter as well as Mediator in the present Differences, and was known by them all to have in it his Power to make that Figure as he pleas'd, yet chose the other, and gave us Orders accordingly, only

only to perform the Offices of a bare Mediation, and to avoid the Parties ſubmitting their Differences to his Determination; ſo that upon the whole, it was eaſie to foreſee the Congreſs would only prove a Buſineſs of Form, and proceed no otherwiſe than as it ſhould be moved, or rather govern'd by the Events of the Field.

However the opening of it might well be called the Dawn of a Peace; which put me in mind of the only Prophecy of this ſort that I had ever thought worth taking notice of; nor ſhould I have done ſo, but that Monſieur *Colbert* ſhew'd it me at my coming to *Nimeguen*, and made me remember to have ſeen it in my Lord *Arlington*'s Hands in the year 1668, who told me it was very old, and had been found in ſome Abby of *Germany*. It was in theſe terms: *Lilium intrabit in terram Leonis feras in brachiis gerens, Aquila movebit alas, & in auxilium veniet filius hominis ab Auſtro, tunc erit ingens bellum per totum terrarum orbem, ſed poſt quatuor annos pax*

The *Lily* ſhall invade the Land of the *Lion*, bearing wild Beaſts in its Arms; the *Eagle* ſhall move its Wings, and the Son of Man ſhall come to his Aſſiſtance from the South; then there ſhall be great War throughout the World; but after four Years, Peace ſhall ſhine forth, and the Son of Man be delivered by thoſe from whom his Ruine was expected.

pax eluceſcet, & ſalus erit filio hominis unde exitium putabatur. Thoſe that have a mind to give credit to ſuch Prophecies from the courſe of events, muſt allow the *Leopards* (the Ancient Arms of *England*) to be meant by *Feras*; the King of *Spain* by *filius hominis*; the Congreſs at *Nimeguen* (four years after the War began) by the *Dawn of Peace*; and *Spain*'s having been ſav'd by the States, or the Prince of *Orange*, by thoſe from whom their ruin was expected. But I eaſily believe, that as moſt Prophecies that run the World, ariſe from the Contrivances of Crafty, or the Dreams of Enthuſiaſtical Heads; and the Senſe of them (where there is any) lies wrapt up in myſtical or incoherent expreſſions, fit to receive many ſorts of interpretations; and ſome perhaps from the leiſure of great Wits that are ill entertain'd, and ſeek diverſion to themſelves, by writing things at random, with the ſcornful thought of amuzing the World about nothing; ſo others of them are broach'd for old, either after events happen, or when they are ſo probable as to be eaſily conjectur'd by foreſeeing men: And it ſeems ſtrange, that of the firſt kind (being ſo many) no

more happen to be fulfill'd with the help of ſo much inclination to credit, as well as ſo much invention to wreſt the meaning of words to the ſenſe pretended. But whether this I mention may not have been one of the laſt kind, is uncertain; for in that very year it was produc'd, and given my Lord *Arlington* by a *Frenchman*, as he told me, the deſign of this War was not only laying, but well advanc'd by the Practices of Monſieur *Colbert*, upon the Miniſters of our Court, (where he was then Ambaſſador) and by the violent humour of my Lord *Clifford* to enter the Leagues then projected by *France*; ſo that the very day the Parliament gave His Majeſty a mighty ſumm of money to compliment him upon ſo applauded a Councel and Succeſs as that of the Tripple Alliance in the Year 1668, That Lord, coming out of the Houſe of Commons, where he was then a Member, could not hold ſaying to a Friend of mine who came out with him, That for all this great joy, it muſt not be long before we have another War with *Holland*. And which of theſe two Prophecies were the more to be conſider'd, or the better inſpir'd, I leave it to every one to gueſs as they pleaſe.

Nime-

Nimeguen is ſeated upon the ſide of a Hill, which is the laſt of *Germany*, and ſtoops upon the River *Woal*, that waſhes the lower part of the Town, and divides it from the *Betow*, an Iſland lying all upon flat low Ground, between the *Woal* and the old *Rhine*, which was the ancient Seat of thoſe the *Romans* call'd *Batavians*, and for their Bravery and love of Liberty, took into their Confederacy, when they ſubjected all the Neighbouring parts of *Gaul* and *Germany*. *Betow* and *Woal* were the ancient *German* Names, and turn'd into *Batavia* and *Voholis* by the *Roman* terminations, as *Colen* and *Cleve* are *Roman* names chang'd into *German*. *Betow* ſignifies in the old *German*, fat Earth, as *Velow*, (a great Heathy Country on t'other ſide the *Rhine*) does courſe, or barren Earth. Whether *Nimegue* came from *Neomagum*, or *Neomagum* from *Nimegue*, I cannot determine, but the old Caſtle, as well as many Antiquities found about it, ſhew it to have been a *Colony* of the *Romans*, and it is ſeated in very good Air, encompaſs'd on three ſides by great and dry Heaths, is well built, and inhabited by a good ſort of People.

I excus'd my ſelf from letting the Magiſtrates of *Nimeguen* know what time I deſign'd my arrival there, tho' they ſent to inform themſelves while I was upon the way; and I refus'd any Ceremonies at Entry, to prevent that pretence in other Ambaſſadors, and the troubles and diſturbances ſuch Publick Receptions might occaſion. However I could not eſcape ſome part of it, for which I had like to have paid a great deal more than 'twas worth. The River of *Nimeguen* is very rapid in the midſt of the Stream, which lies near the Town, and ſpreads very broad upon the other ſide of the *Betow*, being upon flat grounds. The firſt part of it is paſs'd by a very large Ferry-Boat, which held at once my two Coaches and ſix Horſes, one Waggon with my Trunks, eight Saddle Horſes, and would have receiv'd many more. This Boat is of a contrivance ſo ſingular, as well as ſo commodious, that I have much wondred never to have ſeen it practis'd in any other place; for the Force of the Stream drives the Boat croſs the River without the leaſt pains of the men, being kept to its courſe by a ſtrong Cable extended from one ſide to the other, and faſten'd to a Pully ſet up for that

that purpoſe in the Boat; ſo that no ſtreſs of weather hinders this paſſage, and the harder the Stream runs, the ſooner 'tis made. Where the River grows ſhallow, and the Current ſlack on the *Betow* ſide, it is ſupply'd by a Bridge of Planks for about two Hundred Paces; which are ill kept, many looſe or ſhaking, and no defence on the ſides. When my Coaches were upon this Bridge, the Cannon of the Town began to fire, and ſo continued all the while I was upon the River, which was a piece of Civility well underſtood, and my Horſes were ſo unruly with that noiſe and the clatter of the Planks, that they were much likelier to have carried me into the River than the Boat. But when with the help of my Servants on Foot that led them, we got in there, we were ſafe as in a Houſe, and got well away to the Town, where I landed at Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s Houſe, and ſtayed there till late in the Evening, to avoid any Viſits or Ceremonies that Night.

The next day I was viſited by the *French* Ambaſſadors, with Monſieur *D' Avaux*; paſs'd little but what was common upon ſuch occaſions: but the

Mareſchal *D'Eſtrades*, and Monſieur *Colbert* being of my particular acquaintance in my former Ambaſſies at the *Hague* and *Aix la Chapelle*, they pretended in their firſt ſeparate Viſits, to enter with me upon Points and Terms of great Confidence, and upon matters that gave me light into the whole deſign of *France*, intended by the ſteps of this Treaty to which they had of late ſhew'd ſo great forwardneſs, at leaſt in the forming of this Congreſs and diſpatch of their Ambaſſadors, before thoſe of the Allies were in any motion, or perhaps diſpoſition towards it. They both told me, That they had Expreſs and Private Orders from the King their Maſter, to make me particular Compliments upon the eſteem His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had for my Perſon, and to make their Application wholly to me in the courſe of this Negotiation, tho' one of the Mediators came from reſiding in their own Court; but they knew very well I had the King my Maſters Confidence, as well as that of his Miniſters; and that having had the framing of this Congreſs from the firſt Overtures, and through all the Preliminaries, there was no other hand but mine capable of finiſhing it; and there-

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fore they preſag'd me all the glory of it. That I might reckon upon all the facility their Maſter could give towards it; but after ſuch ſucceſſes in the War, and at the Head of ſo great Forces, both at Land and Sea, it could not be expected he ſhould yield to reſtore what his Arms had conquer'd. On t'other ſide, they knew very well, tho' the States were bent upon the Peace, yet the frowardneſs or extravagant demands of their Allies, would engage them as long as they could in the War, unleſs the Prince of *Orange* would interpoſe his Authority, which was ſo great with all the Allies, that they were ſure of their conſenting to whatever Terms the Prince ſhould be reſolute in propoſing for the Peace: That to draw it therefore to a happy iſſue, there was no way but for His Highneſs firſt to agree privately with *France* upon the Conditions, and what every Party ſhould content themſelves with; and afterwards, in the courſe of the Treaty, to draw all things, by concert together, to the ſcope agreed between them; in which the Prince might make uſe of the known temper of the States to bring it to a ſudden iſſue, and to make a ſeparate Peace, in caſe the unreaſonable

pretences of their Allies ſhould hinder or delay a general one. That this part was acted by the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Munſter*, who was in private concert with *France*, through the whole proceedings of that Treaty, tho' he went on with the Allies in the Publick Tranſactions; That he ow'd the greatneſs of his Houſe to this Councel, and to the conſideration and ſupport it had ever ſince receiv'd from the Crown of *France*. That by purſuing the ſame at *Nimeguen*, it would be in the Prince of *Orange*'s power to do the ſame for himſelf and his Family; and that for what concern'd his own perſonal Intereſts and Advantages, their Maſter had given them power to aſſure him, he ſhould have the *Carte Blanche*, and draw his own Conditions upon it. That tho' they had other ways of making up this Overture to the Prince, yet they had order to do it by none but me, if I would charge my ſelf with it; That they knew the Credit and Confidence I was in with the Prince, and how far he would defer to my opinions in what concern'd the Publick Intereſts of his Allies as well as his own; And that if I would eſpouſe this Affair, beſides the Glory of having alone given a Peace to *Chriſtendom*,

dom, I might reckon upon what I pleas'd my ſelf from the bounty and generoſity of the King their Maſter.

This was the ſum of what was ſaid by them both, tho' in ſeveral and private Viſits; but I obſerv'd Monſieur *Colbert* to have been inſtructed with more particular Confidence, and to deſign it with me, even a part from both his Colleagues and mine in the purſuit of this Intelligence; but Monſieur *D' Eſtrades* valued himſelf chiefly upon his entring into it with me preferable to all others, tho' he had ſeveral other ways of doing it with the Prince, as well as into what Practices he ſhould think fit with the States, by the help of ſo many Friendſhips and Hibitudes, as I knew he had contracted in *Holland* during ſo long a courſe of imployments there.

I anſwer'd, That I was oblig'd to His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for his good opinion, and to them for having given it him, not having my ſelf at all the Honour of being known to him; That I ſhould make no ill uſe of this great Honour and Confidence, whether I ſhould be able to make a good one or no: That for His Majeſty's diſpoſitions to promote the Peace, they knew them as well

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as I, but that many conſiderations had engag'd him to inſtruct us the Mediators only to promote a general Peace, and not to enter into any paces towards any particular one, or ſeparate, between the Parties, which ſuch a private and previous concert between *France* and the Prince of *Orange* would look very like; and therefore I did not ſee how I could enter upon it without particular Orders from the King: That beſides, I would confeſs to them, that I did not think it would be of any great effect if I ſhould receive them; and that the beſt Service I could do them (the Ambaſſadors) was to let them know very freely all that I knew, or at leaſt thought of the Prince of *Orange*, and his diſpoſitions in this great Affair, that they might the better gueſs what paces to expect from him; That I was ſure he deſir'd the Peace as much as the States could do; that the weak Conduct of *Spain*, and diſtracted Councels of the Empire, was enough to force him upon it, without many other Circumſtances that were too well known to trouble them with. That the Prince knew very well there would be no difficulty at all in the Terms of a Peace between *France* and *Holland*, and that

that all would arise from their Allies, who had entred into the War only in their defence; That their Faith and Honour were since engaged by many Treaties concluded with them, and which hindred them from making any separate Peace. That in all those Treaties the Prince's Honour was more particularly engaged, upon which personally the several Princes Confederates were known to rely more than upon any Publick Resolution, or Instruments of the States. That if any ways could be found, or offers made towards bringing his Highness out of this War, with the safety of his Honour, by the satisfaction of his Allies, upon any sort of terms, I was sure he would fall into them with all the joy that could be; but to break from them against all Faith and Agreements by separate measures, I believ'd he would never be induc'd, but by the last extremities of the War, or necessities at home. And that for his own Personal Interests, I was confident no advantages to be offer'd him, would ever be consider'd by his Highness, how great soever, but that two or three Towns, more or less to the *Spaniards*, for the strength of their Frontier in *Flanders*, would prevail more with him than all could

could be done for his Intereſt in *Orange* or *Burgundy*; and that all other propoſitions of Advantages more than were avow'd in the courſe of the Treaty, were, I believ'd, what he would take ill from any that ſhould make them; and yet whenever I ſaw him next, I would tell him of all that had paſt in this Converſation. But for the deference they believ'd his Highneſs might have for my Sentiments, I would aſſure them, my opinion was, he had none for mine, or any man's elſe, further than as their Arguments prevail'd upon his Judgment, That he had ſenſe enough to govern himſelf, and I believ'd he would always truſt to it, tho' he might adviſe with other men.

After theſe Converſations, during the time I ſtay'd at *Nimeguen*, Monſieur *Colbert* made many ſmall attacks of this kind upon me, and ſometimes contented himſelf only to let fall ſome things in Converſation, to try if I was diſpos'd to enter further upon that Subject: But the Mareſchal *D' Eſtrades* immediately after began to turn his Battery another way, which was upon the Penſioner *Fagel*, by the intervention of a Perſon of *Maſtricht*, many of whoſe Letters the Penſioner ſhew'd

ſhew'd me upon the ſame occaſion; and with all the offers that could be made of Conſideration and Advantage to the intereſts of the Prince of *Orange*, which met with no other reception from his Highneſs than what I foretold.

After the firſt Viſits between us and the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, whom we only found at *Nimeguen*, we receiv'd a Viſit from the Magiſtrates of the Town, who told us, They had order from the States, to remit the Government of the City to our diſpoſition, during the preſent Treaty, and to proceed no otherwiſe in it, than according to ſuch Orders as they ſhould receive from us the Mediators. We told them, It was His Majeſty's Pleaſure, that we ſhould not at all intermeddle with it, but that on the contrary, we ſhould conſign into the hands of the ordinary Juſtice of the Town, any of our Domeſticks that ſhould be guilty of any Crime againſt the Peace or Government of the place; and that Juſtice ſhould be done upon them, according to their Faults; and that we ſhould not take upon us to withdraw or protect them from the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, by the Rights and Privileges of that Character His Majeſty had given us.

After

After, this, we applied our ſelves to propoſe ſome Regulations for the order and quiet of ſo numerous an Aſſembly as this was like to prove, (in a Town but too ſtrait, and compos'd of narrow Streets) and to the eſtabliſhment of ſome compaſs of Neutral Countrey about it, for the convenience and divertiſement of the company that ſhould compoſe it. For the firſt, we gave in a Paper to the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, with certain Articles, to which we deſir'd their conſent, not doubting, but all others that ſhould come after, would eaſily fall into what they ſhould previouſly agree to upon our deſire. They were theſe, as we gave them in *French*, the Language us'd in all Conferences, and moſt Papers that paſs'd in that Treaty.

1. That for avoiding the inconveniencies that may happen by the great number of Coaches in the Streets, that are ſo narrow, and the Corners ſo incommodious, the Ambaſſadors Mediators propoſe, Not to make any Viſits, tho they be Viſits of Ceremony, with more than Two Pages, and

1. *Que pour eviter les inconvenients qui pourront arriver par le grand nombre de traits dans les rues ſi êtroits & entre des coins ſi incommodes, Les Ambaſſadeurs Mediatures propoſent, De ne faire les viſits, meſme de Ceremonie, qu'avec chacum Ambaſſadeur*

deur deux Pages, & Quatre Lacquais; & un Caroſſe, a deux Chevaux; & de n'aller a aucune place de Conference, ou autres lieux publiques avec plus d'un Page & deux Lacquais a chaque Ambaſſadeur.

Four Lacqueys to each Ambaſſador; and to have but one Coach, with two Horſes; and not to go to the Place of Conference, or other publick places, with more than one Page and two Laqueys to every Ambaſſador.

2. Qu'en cas de rencontre de Caroſſes dans de lieux trop eſtroits pour le paſſage de l'un & de l'autre, chacun au lieu de s'embaraſſer pour le pas y apportera toute ſorte de facilitè, & s'arreſtera le premier quant il ſera le premier averti que le paſſage eſt trop eſtroit, & ſera place en cas que de ſon coſtè cela ſe trouve de plus facile.

2. That when Coaches meet in theſe narrow places, where there is not room to paſs by one another, every one, inſtead of contending for Place or Precedency, ſhall mind rather to make the paſſage eaſie to one another, and ſtop the firſt, if he have the firſt notice that the Paſs is too ſtreight, and alſo give place to the other, if it be more eaſily done on his ſide, than on the other ſide.

3. Que les Lacquais ne porteront eſpée, bâten ny baguette par les rues, ni les Pages plus que de baguette ſeul.

3. That no Lacquey, ſhall carry either ſword, ſtaff, or ſtick in the ſtreets; nor Pages any more than a little ſtick.

4. Que les Ambaſſadeurs ſur aucune crime commis par aucun de leur domeſtiques contre la paix publique, renonceront a la protection des dits domeſtiques, et les remettront

4. That the Ambaſſadors, upon any Crime committed againſt the publick Peace, by any of their Domeſticks, ſhall renounce all Protection of the ſaid Domeſticks, and deliver them up into the

auſſi

hands of the Juſtice of the City; deſiring, and authorizing them to proceed againſt them according to their ordinary rules.

auſſi toſt entre les mains de la Juſtice de la ville, la priants & autoriſans de proceder contre eux ſelon les regles ordinaries.

5. That in caſe any inſult or quarrel ſhould be made by the Domeſticks of one Ambaſſador, with thoſe of another Ambaſſador, or any other publick Miniſter, the Ambaſſadors will deliver up ſuch of their Domeſticks into the hands of the Maſter of the Party offended, to be puniſh'd at his diſcretion.

5. Qu' en cas de quelque inſulte ou querelle faite par aucun de leurs domeſtiques contre ceux d' aucun autre Ambaſſadeur ou Miniſtre Publique, Les Ambaſſadeurs remettront tels domeſtiques entre les mains du Maiſtre de la Partie offenſée pour eſtre puni ſelon ſa diſcretion.

The *French* Ambaſſadors receiv'd this Paper with much Approbation and Compliment to us, upon the deſign and conception of it, and ſaid they were ready to give their full conſent to every part of it, excepting only the ſecond Article; but upon this they could not, without firſt acquainting their Maſter, from whom they had orders to maintain upon all occaſions, the Rank that *Spain* had yielded to them by Treaty; ſo that they could not ſtop or make way for the Miniſters of that Crown, tho' they would do it for thoſe of *Brandenburgh*. We told them

them, we doubted not but the Emperor's Ambaſſadors would be content to fall into the General Rule for ſo good an end; and that for our ſelves, the Mediators, who were out of all Competition by that Quality, yet we reſolv'd to practiſe it with the reſt, and give the Example.

The *French* Ambaſſadors ſeem'd ſatisfied in their own Opinions; but however, deſir'd they might firſt communicate it to the Court. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors wholly approv'd it, and reſolv'd to conform their Practice accordingly, unleſs they found other Ambaſſadors ſhould decline it. However, about a fortnight after, the *French* Ambaſſadors, upon Diſpatches from their Court, began to change their Language, and told us, That for the firſt Article, Monſieur *Pompone* thought it not neceſſary to reſtrain the Numbers of Ambaſſadors Trains, ſince they were well provided againſt Diſorders by the following Articles; Beſides that this would in a manner level the Ambaſſadors of greateſt Kings with the Miniſters of ſmaller Princes, at leaſt in the eyes of the *mean people*, who meaſure the Dignity of perſons by the Train that attend them. For the ſecond Article, they conſented to it, with an

Apoſtyle of their own upon it, providing that it ſhould not prejudice the Rights of any Princes, nor ever be drawn into conſequence in any other place or time. We found by theſe Anſwers, that the *French* Ambaſſadors had leſs Vanity than their Court, and wondred to find it ſo avowed; and to deſcend to Circumſtances ſo low and ſo minute; for tho' Vanity be a weakneſs, or a fault that the feweſt men are without, yet it is that of all others that the feweſt will own; and few private men, tho' perhaps affected with the Gazes and Opinion of the Rabble that fill the Streets as they paſs, will yet pretend or confeſs to conſider them. However we thought beſt to let it paſs; and the rather, becauſe we knew it was no more the ſenſe of the *French* Ambaſſadors, than Ours; for which they had one more particular Reaſon, which was, The noiſe that run of the magnificent Preparations and Equipage deſign'd by the Marquiſs *de Balbaces* and Count *Antoyne* towards their appearance in this Congreſs: the firſt whereof was one of the richeſt Subjects of *Spain*, Heir and Deſcendant of the famous *Spinola*; and the other had great Revenues from the Duke of *Oldenburgh* (being his Natural Son)

Son.) and was choſen by *Denmark*, on purpoſe to appear with Luſtre in this Ambaſſage: and the *French* Ambaſſadors apprehended either being out-ſhined by theſe at their arrival, or being engag'd in greater Expences upon the Vye than they expected from their Court, which uſually leaves thoſe kind of Services to future Rewards, by ſucceeding Employments and Advances, rather than preſent Supplies. When we received this anſwer from them, we only ſaid Monſieur *Pompone's* reaſoning from the *mean peuple*, ſeem'd a little below the Greatneſs of his Maſter, or the Style of a Great Miniſter; but that we ſhould acquaint the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors with it, that they might be at liberty to retract the conſent they had already given, ſince they, the *French*, ſeem'd to have done ſo: but that, for our ſelves, we would obſerve at leaſt the Rules we had propos'd to others, and let them follow either the Rules or Examples as they pleas'd. The *French* would by no means allow to have refus'd them, and ſaid, They had only told us Monſieur *Pompone's* Reflections upon them; but that they could not abſolutely conſent, till they had concerted with their Allies, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors,

whose arrival they daily expected. However, tho' they were by these wholly approv'd, yet the *French* Ambassadors during the Assembly, made all their first Visits with the three several Ambassadors Choaches and six Horses, and the whole number of their Train, which sometimes reach'd further than the space between their Houses, and of the Ministers where the Visit was paid. But we continued to make ours only with two Horses, and the number of Servants we had propos'd; and the rest of the Rules were observ'd by all with so good effect, that for one whole year I resided there together, there never happen'd any disorder or complaint from so numerous Trains.

For the Neuteral Country, we at first propos'd, by concert with the *French* Ambassadors, to extend it about three Leagues, so as to take in the Town of *Cleave*, which has been always celebrated for one of the pleasantest Seats of *Germany*; but upon transmitting this Proposal to the *French*, a Resolution came back to their Ambassadors, to admit only two Leagues from *Nimeguen*, and that to continue subject to Contribution, and to Execution upon failure of that being paid, as was usual to the Garrison of *Maſtricht*

ſtricht. This we thought unpracticable with the ſafety of the Ambaſſadors or their Retinues, that ſhould make uſe of a Neutrality ſubject to Inroads of armed Troops upon pretence of Contribution, and admitted of many diſputes. The *French* Ambaſſadors had Orders from their Court to go out of Town upon any occaſion of Airing and Entertainment: the *Dutch* deſir'd us to let the *French* know, the States could not be anſwerable for their doing it ſafely, till the Neuteral Country were eſtabliſh'd without being liable to Contribution. After ſome time, rather than continue Priſoners to the Town, or venture the inconvenience and danger of Parties ranging within the bounds of a Neuteral Countrey, a compaſs was agreed, about two *Engliſh* miles from the Town, and mark'd out with ſeveral great Poſts erected to that purpoſe, within which all perſons ſhould have liberty, and no Soldiers ſhould be ſuffer'd to come in, upon any pretext whatſoever.

Several Pretenſions were rais'd at the opening of this Congreſs (which was reckon'd upon the time of two Mediators arrival upon the place, about the Right of ſeveral Princes to ſend Ambaſſa-

dors, and many disputes rose upon them. It had been agreed at the Treaty of *Munster*, that every Elector should be allow'd to send a Minister thither, with the Character of *Ambassador*; but if they sent more than One in Commission, that the First only should be treated with *Excellence*, and other Ceremonies of Ambassadors. This Rule we agreed to follow at *Nimeguen*: and the Elector of *Brandenburgh* sent two Ambassadors thither; but we treated the First only with the usual Ceremonies, and left the Other to his Pretences and Complaints. The *French* follow'd our Example; and the other Ambassadors did some one, some the other, according as their Interests engag'd them to comply with that Elector in this Pretence.

Upon admission of the Electors to send *Ambassadors* to the Congress, the same Pretence was soon after rais'd by the Dukes of *Lorrain*, *Neuburgh*, and *Lunenburgh*: much alteration us'd upon this Subject; but the Presidents alledg'd, not being found without dispute, the thing lay quiet, and their Envoys arriv'd after some time at *Nimeguen*.

We agreed neither to give the first Visit, nor the Hand, in our Houses, to any

any Character under that of *Ambaſſador*; nor to other perſons of Quality, that were not either Counts of the Empire, or General Officers of Armies.

There was no diſpute about the Rank with the Mediators; the *French* having firſt yeilded it by Order of their Court, till the *Imperialiſts* came, who neither yielded nor refus'd it, but ſeem'd deſirous to have that mark of diſtinction allow'd between the Emperor's Ambaſſadors and thoſe of all other Crown'd Heads: We held on our Pretence of it from Theſe, as well as the reſt, but kept it from coming from any deciſion till the very ſigning of the Treaty, finding the Emperor not inclin'd to yield it; and knowing that if it were refus'd there, the admiſſion granted by the reſt, might come to be retracted upon that Example.

The other Ambaſſadors were left to their uſual Pretences: The *French*, That all ſhould yield to Them; and the reſt, of None yielding to one another; in which the *Swedes* carried the Point even with their Allies, the *French*, as nicely and poſitively as any others.

The *Swedes* arriv'd about the middle of *August*: sent first to us, and then to the French, to notifie their arrival: this happen'd late in the Evening, so we deferr'd our Compliments and desires of an hour, till next Morning; the French made theirs the same night to Monsieur *Oxenstern*, first in Commission, who gave them an Hour the next Morning, and to our Secretaries, who came to them about that time, they gave an Hour in the afternoon. The Visits were made accordingly, but upon our insisting that the first Visit ought to be return'd to the Mediators, from whomsoever the first should be receiv'd, the *Swedish* Ambassadors, after some time to consider it, determin'd the point, and made us the first Visit, tho' the *French* had first made it to them; and this was observ'd by the Ambassadors that afterwards arriv'd during my residence there.

I remember no other points of the Ceremonial, that seem to have been established by the course of this *Assembly*, unless it was one particular to our selves, who declar'd that we would dine with no Ambassador till the Peace was concluded, being desirous to avoid the troubles and engagements of perpetual In-

Invitations, as well as the unkindneſs of Excuſes, at one time, or to ſome perſon more than another; but our own Tables were open, each of us three days in the week, two Poſt-days being reſerv'd to our ſelves for buſineſs, and one for diverſion or Exerciſe abroad; and ſeveral of the Ambaſſadors, eſpecially the *French*, came to our Tables notwithſtanding this reſolution, which they ſeem'd to take a little to heart: But to make amends, we divided the Nights by turns, where there were any Ladies in the Ambaſſadors Houſes, and where the Evenings were ſpent in Dancing or Play, or careleſs and eaſie Suppers or Collations. In theſe Entertainments, as I ſeldom fail'd of making a part, and my Colleague never had any; ſo it gave occaſion for a good word that paſs'd upon it, *Que la Mediation eſtoit tous jours en pied pour faire ſa function*; for I us'd to go to Bed and riſe late, while my Colleague was a Bed by Eight, and up by Four; and to ſay truth, two more different Men were never joyn'd in one Commiſſion, nor agreed better in it.

That the Mediation was always on foot for to go on with its Buſineſs.

For

For Buſineſs, there was very little for many months after the Congreſs began, till the arrival of the Imperial Miniſters, only the *French* Ambaſſadors ſoon after my coming, demanding an audience, came to make us the offer of exhibiting their *Plein pouvoirs* into our hands, not doubting, as they ſaid, of the *Dutch* being ready to do the ſame. But upon our acquainting the *Dutch Ambaſſadors* with this Overture, they told us, That it was in the choice of the *French Ambaſſadors* to do it when they pleas'd; but they did not conceive the haſtening of it would gain any time, ſince they had no Orders to make that Peace without a previous concert with their Allies; and conſequently tho' the French ſhould do it, yet they would, at preſent, neither exhibit their own, nor make any Reflections (as might be neceſſary) upon thoſe of the French. From this Anſwer, the French took occaſion to preſs the *Dutch* extreamly upon making inſtances to all their Allies to haſten to the Treaty, or elſe to declare that they would enter into Affair without them; and not without ſome intimation of their Maſter's being reſolv'd to recall them in caſe this was refus'd, or much longer delay'd. The *Dutch* excus'd the

Full Powers.

the retardments given to the Treaty so long, by the many difficulties rais'd by the *French* Court upon occasion of the Passports, which were not yet dispatch'd to some of their new Allies; but however promis'd to acquaint the States with these instances, and endeavour to dispose them to fix some time, by which they would order their Ambassadors to enter into matter, unless the Ministers for the Allies were arriv'd at *Nimeguen*.

In these, and the several other Points, interceding between the *French* and *Dutch Ambassadors*, who carried the Proposals and Answers from one to the other, at their Houses by word of mouth, which continued till the Assembly was compleated, and a place of Conference with much difficulty agreed at the Stadthouse of *Nimeguen*; where after many difficulties between the two Confederacies, and many more between the Parties that compos'd each of them, two Chambers were at length agreed for the Parties, and one for the Mediators, by which our pains was lessen'd, but without other advantage. Nor was there any Point that gave us more trouble than the adjusting this among the Parties; for the

French

French were from the very first, most declaredly averse from treating either by Writings, or from agreeing to a place of Publick Conference; conceiving this would tend to keep the Body of the Confederacy united in the Treaty, as well as the War; whereas their design was to break that union here, which they could not in the Field; and find some way or other of entring into separate measures for a Peace with some of the Parties engag'd. In the mean time the Allies found, or took as many occasions as they could, of delaying the dispatch of their Ministers to the Congress, while they had hopes of hindering the *Dutch* from proceeding without them; and *that* they believ'd might be done till this Campania should end, from the events whereof the several Princes might the better take their measures, for the Conditions of a Peace that should be propos'd or insisted on in this Treaty; and this disposition of theirs was so well pursu'd, that no other Ambassadors arriv'd at *Nimeguen* till *November*, tho' we and the *French*, and the *Dutch*, had been so long upon the place, and the *Swedes* soon after.

In

In the mean time the ſucceſſes of the Campania, that were expected abſolutely to govern the motions of the Treaty, were various as to the groſs of the War; but run as high to the advantage of the *French*, as to the diſadvantage of the *Swediſh* Affairs. By force of great Treaſures, and great order in diſpoſing them, the *French* Magazines were always fill'd in the Winter, ſo as to enable them to take the Field as they pleas'd in the Spring, without fearing the weather for their Foot, or expecting Graſs for their Horſe; on th'other ſide, the *Spaniards* want of Money and Order, left their Troops in *Flanders*, neither capable to act by themſelves upon any ſudden attempt, nor to ſupply with Proviſions in their March, either *Dutch* or *Germans* that ſhould come to their relief. Their Towns were ill fortified, and worſe defended; ſo that the King of *France* marching in the Head of a brave and numerous Army, took *Conde* in four days in the Month of *April* this year 1676, before any of the Confederates were in the Field; and in *May*, ſent the Duke of *Orleans* to beſiege *Bouchain* with ſome part of his Troops, being a ſmall, tho' ſtrong place, and very conſiderable for its ſcituation

ation to the defence of the *Spaniſh* Netherlands. The King with the ſtrength of his Army, poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, as to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from being able to relieve it, or to fight without diſadvantage.

The Prince ſtrugled through all the difficulties from the Seaſon, or want of Proviſions and Magazines in *Flanders*, and march'd with his Army in ſight of the French King by the Middle of *May*; the Armies continued ſome days facing one another, and ſeveral times drawing out in order to a Battel, which neither of them thought fit to begin; whether not willing to hazard, without neceſſity or advantage, ſo deciſive an Action as this was like to prove; or whether the *French* contented themſelves to carry their point by hindring the Relief of *Bouchain*, which muſt fall without it, while the Prince of *Orange* withheld by the *Spaniards* from purſuing his, which was to give a Battel, that the *Spaniards* knew could not be loſt without the loſs of *Flanders*. The Armies continued facing one another till *Bouchain* was ſurrendred, the Eighth day of the Seige. The Prince return'd to refreſh his Army, haraſs'd with ſo haſty a March upon ſo ſudden

ſudden preparations; and the King of *France* return'd home leaving his Army under the Mareſchal *Scombergh*, to attend the motions of the Enemies. The Prince fell into concert with the *Spaniards* and *German* Princes near the lower *Rhine*, for the Siege of *Maſtricht*, which, tho' the ſtrongeſt of the *Dutch* Frontiers, when it was taken, had been yet fortified by the *French* ſince they poſſeſs'd it with all the advantages of Art and Expence, and with a Gariſon of Eight thouſand choſen Men, under *Calvo*, a reſolute *Catalonian*, who Commanded there under the Mareſchal *d' Eſtrades*, Governour of the place, but then at *Nimeguen*.

About the end of *July*, the Trenches were open'd by the Prince, and the Siege carried on with ſuch bravery, ſo many and deſperate Aſſaults for about three Weeks, that as Wagers were continually offer'd with odds, at *Nimeguen*, that it would be taken within ſuch or ſuch a time; ſo we did not obſerve the Mareſchal *d' Eſtrades* was willing to take them, or ſeem'd at all confident it would be ſo well defended. The Prince, or the *Rhinegrave* (who was deſigned for Governour of the Town, as his Father had been) were ever in the Head of the Attacks, and

and made great uſe, as well as proof of the deſperate Courage of the *Engliſh* Troops upon all thoſe occaſions; many of the out-works were taken with great ſlaughter on both ſides, but were ſupplied by new Retrenchments, and by all the Art and Induſtry of a reſolute Captain, and brave Soldiers within. About the Middle of *Auguſt*, the Prince expoſing himſelf upon all occaſions, receiv'd a Muſquet ſhot in his Arm, at which, perceiving thoſe about him were daunted, he immediately pull'd off his Hat with the Arm that was hurt, and waved it about his Head, to ſhew the Wound was but in the Fleſh, and the Bone ſafe; at which they all reviv'd, and the Prince went on without interruption in all the Paces of the Siege. But a cruel ſickneſs falling into his Army, weaken'd it more than all the Aſſaults they had given the Town. The *Germans* came not up with the Supplies they had promis'd, and upon which aſſurance the Siege was undertaken; and the *Rhingrave*, who, next the Prince, was the ſpring of this Action, happening to be wounded ſoon after, was forc'd to leave the Camp for a Caſtle in the Neighbourhood, where he died; by all which the Army grew diſheartned, and

and the Siege faint. In the mean time, Monſieur *Schomberg*, who truſted to a vigorous defence at *Maſtricht*, had beſieg'd and taken *Aire*, and after the Prince's Army was weaken'd, by the accidents of the Siege, march'd with all the *French* Forces through the heart of the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries, to the relief of *Maſtricht*; upon whoſe approach, and the reſolutions of a Council of War in the Prince's Camp, the Siege was rais'd, and with it the Campania ended in the *Dutch* or *Spaniſh* Provinces. And from this time, the Prince of *Orance* began to diſpair of any ſucceſs in a War, after ſuch tryals and experience of ſuch weakneſs in the *Spaniſh* Forces and Conduct, and uncertainty in the *German* Councels or Reſolutions.

However, the Imperial Army took *Philipsburgh* in the end of *September* this Year 1676, which was yielded for want of Proviſions, and as much againſt common opinion and expectation, as the contrary event in the Siege of *Maſtricht*.

The Affairs of *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* proſper'd all this againſt *Sweden*, with advantage in moſt of the Sieges and Encounters that paſs'd this Summer, and the firſt part of the Win-

ter following, so that the *Swedes* seem'd to be losing apace all they had so long possess'd in *Germany*; but the Imperial Forces, tho' join'd with those of the several Princes upon the upper *Rhine*, had made no progress in their design'd Conquests there, and were forc'd to seek their old Quarters on the *Germain* side of the *Rhine*, upon the approach of the *French*, which was a true and undisputed decision of the small success of this Campania.

After it was ended, the Parties engag'd in the War began to turn their thoughts, or at least their eyes, more towards the motions of the Treaty than they had hitherto done. The Prince of *Orange* writ to me, desir'd to see me for a day or two at *Soesdyke* near *Amesfort*, about a days Journey from *Nimeguen*. He complain'd much, and with too much reason, of the Conduct of his Allies, the weakness, or rather uselesness of the *Spanish* Troops in *Flanders*, for want of Pay, or Order; the Imperial Armies acting without design upon the *Rhine*, or with dependence upon Orders from *Vienna*, where the emulation of the Ministers made such distraction, and counter-paces of their Generals, that the Campania had

had paſs'd with ſmall effect after the promiſes of vigorouſly invading either *Lorain* or *France*. How the Dukes of *Lunenburgh* had fail'd of ſending their Troops to *Maſtricht*, which, with the Sickneſs of the Camp, had render'd that Siege ineffectual: So that he began to deſpair of any good iſſue of the War, and would be glad to hear, I hop'd, for a better of the Peace upon our Scene at *Nimeguen*, after the Paces and Progreſs whereof he made particular enquiries. I told him how little advances had been hitherto made, by the ſlowneſs of his Allies diſpatching their Miniſters thither; how little ſucceſs could be expected from the Pretenſions of the Parties when they ſhould meet, eſpecially *France*, pretending to keep all they had got by the War, and *Spain* to recover all they had loſt; how His Majeſty ſeem'd of the mind to concern himſelf no further than the Paces of a Mediator, our Orders being only to convey the Mind or Propoſals of the Parties from one to another, and even to avoid the offers of any references upon them to His Majeſty's determination; ſo that my opinion was That it muſt be the War alone that muſt make the Peace, and that I ſuppos'd it

would do at one time or other, by the weakneſs or wearineſs of one of the Parties.

The Prince ſeem'd of my mind, and ſaid, the events of the War would depend upon the Conduct at *Madrid* and *Vienna* before next Campania, for without ſome great ſucceſs, he did not believe the States would be induc'd to continue it longer; I told the Prince the Diſcourſes Monſieur *Colbert* had entertain'd me with upon my arrival at *Nimeguen*, in which His Highneſs was chiefly concern'd; upon which he replied coldly, he had heard enough of the ſame kind another way, which Monſieur *D' Eſtrades* had found out to Penſioner *Fagel*; but that they knew him little that made him ſuch Overtures; and for his own Intereſts and Advantages, let them find a way of ſaving his Honour, by ſatisfying *Spain*, and nothing of his Concerns ſhould retard the Peace an hour.

After my return to *Nimeguen*, I found the *French* making all the advances they could towards the progreſs of the Treaty, and they were (no doubt) in earneſt, being in a poſture to inſiſt upon their preſent poſſeſſions, and having made

made a great hand of this last Campania, were willing, like Gamesters that have won much, to give over, unless oblig'd to play on by those that had lost. The *Swedes* were more in haste and in earnest for the Peace than any, hoping no *Resource* for their losses in *Germany* by the War. The *Dutch* were grown impatient for the Peace, finding *France* would make no difficulty of any thing between them, offering privately by their Emissaries, especially at *Amsterdam*, such a *Reglement* of Commerce as they could desire, the restitution of *Mastricht*, and of all satisfaction the Prince of *Orange* could pretend upon his losses, or their seizures in the War. But *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* were as violent against the Peace, having swallow'd up in their hopes all that *Sweden* had possess'd in *Germany*; and tho' the Emperor seem'd to pretend little after the taking of *Philipsburgh*, besides the restitution of *Lorain* and the Towns of *Alsatia*, to the posture they were left in by the *Munster* Treaty; yet they were so fast link'd, both with their *German* Allies as well as *Spain*, that they resolv'd to make no Paces in the Treaty but by common concert; and *Spain*, tho' sensible of the

condition their Affairs in *Flanders* were in, as well as *Sicily*, yet upon a deſign then hatching at *Madrid*, for removal of the Queen Regent and her Miniſtry, to introduce *Don John* to head the Affairs of their Government, had conceiv'd great hopes to recover thoſe deſperate infirmities that their inveterate diſorders both in Councels and Conduct, eſpecially in their Financies, had for ſo long time occaſion'd. Beſides, they had Confidences ſtill given them from their Miniſters in *England*, that His Majeſty would not, after all, be contented to ſee *Flanders* loſt, or would be forc'd into the War by the humour of his Parliament. For theſe Reaſons, the Allies ſeem'd to make no haſte at all to the Congreſs, and ſome of them hardly to look that way; and none of the Parties were yet arriv'd, beſides the *French*, the *Swedes*, and the *Dutch*: But about the end of *September*, the *French* Ambaſſadors gave us notice, That their Maſter having made ſo many advances to the Peace, and being ſo ill ſeconded by the proceedings of the Confederates, and their ſlowneſs in coming to the Treaty, was reſolv'd to recall his Ambaſſadors, unleſs thoſe of the chief Confederates

ſhould

ſhould repair to *Nimeguen* within the ſpace of one Month.

This we communicated to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, and they to the States, who after ſome Conferences with the Miniſters of their Allies, came to a reſolution, That they would enter upon the Treaty themſelves, if the Miniſters of their Confederates ſhould not repair to *Nimeguen* by the firſt of *November*, which was afterwards, upon ſome diſputes, declar'd to be meant Old Stile, being that of the place where the Congreſs was held.

The noiſe of this reſolution of the States, was more, among their Allies, than the danger, ſince there were ways enough to raiſe difficulties, and ſpin out time after the Ambaſſadors ſhould arrive, as well as before; but yet it had ſo much effect, that the ſeveral Confederates did upon it begin to haſten away one or other of their intended Ambaſſadors towards *Nimeguen* (as Count *Kinkski* from *Vienna*, *Don Pedro Ronquillo* from *England*, where he then reſided as *Spaniſh* Envoy) but not the perſons principally intruſted, or at the head of their Embaſſies, nor with powers to proceed further than Preliminaries; And from

Denmark, Monſieur *Heug*, without any news of Count *Antoine*'s preparation, who was appointed chief of that Ambaſſy; any more than of the Biſhop of *Gurke*, or Marqueſs *de Balbaces*, the chief-eſt of thoſe deſign'd from the Emperor and *Spain*.

In the mean time the *Dutch* began to lay load upon their Allies, for their backwardneſs, ſo declar'd, in making any paces towards the Treaty; to cavil upon the obligations they were under of ſo many great Subſidies to ſo many Princes their Allies, for carrying on a War which their Allies purſued for their own ſeparate Intereſts or Ambition, tho' enter'd into it, perhaps at firſt, for defence of *Holland*, with whoſe ſafety theirs were complicated. Hereupon their Miniſters, both at the *Hague* and *Nimeguen*, took the liberty to ſay publickly upon ſeveral occaſions, and in ſeveral Companies, That their Maſters would pay no Subſidies to their Allies the next Campania, unleſs in the mean time they would, by their fair and ſincere proceedings in the Treaty, put the *French* in the Wrong, as their expreſſion was.

The *Swedes* had as well as the *French*, offer'd to deliver us their Powers; but this

this was deferr'd by the *Dutch* to the arrival of their Allies, till after the firſt of *November* was elaps'd; The *French* began to preſs them upon it, in conſequence of the States reſolution; and after ſome little demurs, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors agreed to deliver theirs; ſo by a concert, not without difficulty, we agreed, That on the 21ſt. of *November*, the ſeveral Powers ſhould be brought to us the Mediators, by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, at ſuch Hours as they ſhould ſeverally take from us, ſhould be depoſited in our hands, and that we ſhould afterwards communicate the Originals mutually to the ſeveral Ambaſſadors at their Houſes, and leave Copies with them, atteſted by us the Mediators.

This was done accordingly; and the morning after, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors brought us an account of ſeveral exceptions they were forc'd to make againſt ſeveral expreſſions in the *French* and *Swediſh* Prefaces to their Powers, which they ſaid were fitter for *Manifeſtoes*, than for *Powers of a Treaty*, eſpecially thoſe of juſtifying the War, and maintaining the Treaty of *Weſtphalia:* But the greateſt ſtreſs they laid, was upon a Clauſe in the *French*

French Powers, mentioning the Pope's Mediation, which they ſaid their Maſters could never conſent to now, no more than they had at *Munſter*. To ſay truth, tho' the gaining of time for the Allies coming might have ſome part in theſe Exceptions of the *Dutch*, yet they were fram'd with great Art, and ſhew'd the great quickneſs and ſharpneſs of Monſieur *Beverning*'s apprehenſion, as well as his skill and experience in theſe kind of Affairs; being, I think, without diſpute, the moſt practis'd, and the ableſt Ambaſſador, of any I have ever met in the courſe of my Employments.

The *Dutch* Exceptions were return'd, by others from the *French* and *Swedes*, againſt their Powers; but with offer from both of entring into the Treaty, while theſe Miniſters ſhould be adjuſting. The *Dutch* accepted it, provided the *French* would oblige themſelves to procure new Powers, free from the Exceptions rais'd againſt them, as the *Dutch* offer'd to do. After much debate, they all agreed in deſiring us the Mediators to draw up a form of powers to be us'd by all the Parties; We did it, and it was approv'd by them all, with ſome reſerve only from the *French*, whether it would be

be fit to mention any Mediation since that of the Pope's was left out, and some little Tentatives upon us, whether we would be content to leave out all mention of His Majesty's Mediation, as well as that of the Pope's? This we excus'd our selves from doing, the whole frame of the Congress have proceeded from His Majesty's Mediation, without any intervention of the Pope's; and the King's having been accepted by all the Parties, which the Pope's had not been; but on the contrary, the very mention of it in the Powers, declar'd against by several of them. And by Orders we receiv'd from Court upon occasion of this dispute, we declar'd to all the Parties, That tho' His Majesty pretended not to exclude any other Mediation that the Parties should think fit to use, yet he could not in any wise act joyntly with that of the Pope, nor suffer his Ministers to enter into any Commerce either of Visits or Conferences, with any of His that might be employed at *Nimeguen*.

In *November* arriv'd Monsieur *Heug*, one of the *Danish* Ambassadors; Monsieur *Somnitz* and *Blaspyl*, the two *Brandenburgh* Ambassadors; Lord *Barclay* from

from *Paris*; and soon after *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, one of the *Spanish* Ambassadors; but the last continued incognito till the arrival of Count *Kinkski*, who whether he had taken the Gout, or the Gout had taken him, continued upon that pretence, at *Colen* till the new year was begun.

The *Spanish* Ambassador coming upon Visits to my Wife, and meeting me there, found that way of entring into the present business of the Scene, as much as if he had been declar'd upon it. He agreed with the *French* in this one point, of desiring either the Pope's Mediation might be mention'd in their Powers; or that His Majesty, in consideration of the Peace, would suffer the mention of His to be left out; but the *Dane* on t'other side agreed with the *Dutch*, in refusing to admit any Power with mention of the Pope's Mediation. There arose likewise another difficulty from a seeming expedient propos'd by the *Dutch*, of having from each Party several Powers granted for treating with the several Parties they were in War with, which the *French* refus'd, or to grant other Powers than for the *Dutch* and their Allies; and in these disputes or difficulties the year 1676 ended. I

I enter not at all into the *Detail*, or so much as mention of the many Incidents that fell into the course of this Treaty upon Punctilioes of Visits or Ceremonials, because they seem to me but so many Impertinencies that are grown this last age into the Character of Ambassadors, having been rais'd and cultivated by men, who wanting other Talents to value themselves in those Imployments, endeavour'd to do it by exactness or niceties in the Forms; and besides, they have been taken notice of by discourses concerning this Treaty, and at one time or other may be exactly known by the Original Papers of our Ambassy, which are in two or three several Hands: Whereas I intend chiefly to declare the course of this great Affair, by the more material circumstances, and from the true springs of those events that succeeded, rather than trouble my self with the Forms that serv'd to amuse so long the Assembly at *Nimeguen*.

I shall only make two Observations upon the Ceremonial; the first is upon the Emperor's Conduct towards the *Brandenburgh* Ambassadors; allowing His Ministers to Treat them both like Ambassadors of Crown'd Heads, though we gave

gave it only to the first of the Ambassy upon the President of the *Munster* Treaty, and were follow'd in it by the *French* and *Suedes* in the whole course of this Treaty at *Nimeguen*. This Pace of the Emperor seem'd not so much grounded, as some thought, upon his Compliance with so considerable an Ally, as upon a design to assist another Pretension of his own, which is not only a difference of Place, but also of Rank from all other Crown'd Heads of *Christendom*; Whereas the other Kings, though they yield him the Place, yet they do not allow him a difference of Rank. But if the Emperor could by his Example prevail with other Kings to treat the Electors like Crown'd Heads, it would fortifie the Pretensions of the Emperor to a difference of Rank, since there is a great one, and out of all contest between him and the Electors.

My second Remark is, That among all the Punctilio's between the Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, none seem'd to me to carry them to such heights as the *Suedes* and the *Danes*; the first standing as stiff upon all Points of not seeming to yield in the least to the *French* Ambassadors, tho their Allies, and frown a Crown not only of so mighty Power,

Power, but from whom alone they expected the restoring of their broken State in *Germany*; and the *Danish* Ambassador, upon the *French* Powers being exhibited in *French*, said he would give his in *Danish*, unless they would do it in *Latin* as a common Language; alledging he knew no difference between Crown'd Heads; that the *Danish* Kings had been as great as the *French* are now, and in their present Dominions are as Absolute. Upon all which Monsieur *Beverning* could not forbear to reflect, and say to us, That in his remembrance there was no sort of Competition made by those two Northern Kings with the other three great Kings of *Christendom*: That the treatment of the States to them was very different, and their Ministers made no difficulty of signing any Instruments after the Ministers of the three Great Crowns. 'Tis, I think, out of question that the pretension of Parity among the Crown'd Heads, was first made in the North by *Gustavus*, when he told Monsieur *Gramont* the *French* Ambassador in *Sueden* upon this occasion; That for his part he knew no distinction among Crown'd Heads, but what was made by their Virtue; And this Pretence was not much

much disputed with him in respect to the greatness of his Qualities, as well as of his Attempts and Successes; and his example was follow'd by the Kings of *Denmark*, and has since left Place a thing contested among them all. 'Tis true, the *French* have claim'd the Precedence next to the Emperor, with more noise and haughtiness than the rest, but have been yielded to by none except the *Spaniards*, upon the fear of a War they were not able to deal with; nor have they since been willing to own the weakness of that confession, but have chosen to fall into what measures they could of encouraging and establishing the Pretence of Parity among Crown'd Heads. The most remarkable Instance of this happen'd at *Nimeguen*, where upon a publick meeting of the Allies, the Dispute arising between *Spain* and *Denmark* for the place at Table, *Don Pedro* consented to have it taken by turns, and the first to be divided by lot. The *French* Ambassadors made their pretence of Preference next the Mediators at *Nimeguen*, in the first return of their Visits from Ambassadors arriving; but was neither yielded to by *Swede* or *Dane*, nor practis'd by the Emperor's Ambassadors, who

who made their first visit to the Mediators, and the next without distinction to the first that had visited them. The Emperor took advantage of the *French*, as well as the rest having yielded to the Mediators, and during this Treaty made a scruple, tho' not a refusal of doing it, by which he distinguish'd himself from the other Crown'd Heads. We were content to keep it as much as we could from dicision with them; but it once happen'd that upon a meeting with the Allies at the *Dane*'s House, Count *Kinkski* was there before I and Sir *Lionel* came into the Room, where Chairs were set for all the Ambassadors. After the common Salutations, I went strait up to the Chair that was first in Rank, and stood before it, to sit down when the rest were ready; but my Colleague either losing his time by being engag'd in longer Civilities, or by a desire not to be engag'd in Contests, gave room to Count *Kinkski* (a very brisk Man) to come and stand before the Chair that was next me, and consequently between me and my Colleague. When I saw this, and consider'd, that tho' the place was given me by the Imperialists, yet it was not given to the King's Ambassy; I chose

not to ſit down; but falling into the Conference that was intended, I ſtood all the while as if I did it careleſly, and ſo left the matter undecided.

The Prince of *Orange*, about the latter end of *December*, writ very earneſtly to me, to make a ſtep for ſome few days to the *Hague*, knowing I had leave from His Majeſty, to do it when I thought fit. And finding all things without preſent motion at *Nimeguen*, I went thither, and arriv'd the laſt day of the Year. The firſt of the next being 1677, I attended His Highneſs: We fell into large diſcourſes of the Progreſs of the Treaty, the coldneſs of the Parties, the affected delays of the *Imperials* and *Spaniards*, the declar'd Averſion of the *Danes* and *Brandenburgh*, and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal Paces of this Congreſs. Upon all which the Prince ask'd, if I had heard any more of His Majeſty's mind upon the Peace, ſince I had been laſt with him? I told him, what I remember'd of his laſt Letter to me upon that Subject; which was, That he concluded from the Prince's diſcourſes to me, that he had then no mind to a Peace; that he was ſorry for it, becauſe he thought it was his Intereſt to have it.

That

That he had try'd to know the mind of *France* upon it; but if they would not open themſelves farther of one ſide, nor His Highneſs on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himſelf with performing only His part of a Mediator, and in the Common Forms: The Prince ſaid this look'd very cold, ſince His Majeſty was alone able to make the Peace, and knew well enough what it would come to by the Forms of the Congreſs. That for his own part, he deſir'd it, and had a great deal of reaſon, both becauſe His Majeſty ſeem'd to do ſo, and to think it his own Intereſt as well as the Prince's; and becauſe the States not only thought it their Intereſt, but abſolutely neceſſary for them. That he would not ſay this to any but to the King by me; becauſe if *France* ſhould know it, they would be doubted, be harder upon the Terms: That both *Spain* and the Emperor had leſs mind to it now, than they had at the end of the laſt Campania; The new Miniſters being leſs inclin'd to it than the old had been; ſo that there was not one of the Allies, that had any mind to it, beſides the States. That for his own part, he ſhould be always in the ſame mind with them,

and therefore very much desir'd it; but did not know which way to go about it, at least, so as to compass it before the next Campania. And if that once began, they should be all at Sea again, and should be forc'd to go just as the Wind should drive them. That if His Majesty had a mind to make it, and would let him know freely the Conditions upon which either he desir'd or believ'd it might be made, he would endeavour to concert it the best he could with His Majesty, and that with all the freedom and sincereness in the World, so it might be done with any safety to his own Honour, and the Interests of his Country.

All this he desir'd me to write directly to His Majesty from him, as he knew I had not only leave but command to do upon any occasion that I thought deserv'd it.

Two days after, I saw the Pensioner *Fagel* upon some common Affairs incident to my Ambassy at the *Hague*, which had been left in the hands of the Secretary of that Ambassy. When these discourses were past, he ask'd me if I had brought them the Peace from *Nimeguen*? I replied, That since he was so ignorant of what had pass'd there, I would

would tell him, That they had carried their matters there, *En habiles gens.* That to bring their Allies to the Congreſs, they had pretended to treat by the firſt of *November*, whether they came or no. That after that day paſt, they had found fault with the Powers exhibited, had offer'd at new, made the Mediators courſe from one to t'other, ſpun out two Months time in theſe Paces, and thereby were gotten in ſight both of *Spaniſh* and Imperial Miniſters, which I ſuppos'd was the point they always intended, and afterwards to keep Pace with them. The Penſioner anſwer'd me with ſomething in his Face both ſerious and ſad, That either I did not know them, and the courſe of their Affairs ſince I left the *Hague*, or elſe I would not ſeem to know them: That they not only deſir'd the Peace from their hearts, but thought it abſolutely neceſſary for them; That they would certainly have enter'd into Treaty at that time, if the *French* had either exhibited Powers in a form to be at all admitted, or would have oblig'd themſelves to procure new ones: Nay, That they would not inſiſt upon a Peace according to their Allies pretenſions, nor could he anſwer that they would not

Like able Men.

make a ſeparate one. I ſaid, That was a matter of ſuch moment, as I was ſure they would think of it another Year before they did it. With this he drew up his Chair cloſer to me, and began a Diſcourſe with more heat and earneſtneſs than agreed well with the poſture of Health he was in; ſaying, firſt, That they had thought enough of it already, and with thinking much, had begun to find it was without remedy. That they had great obligations to *Spain* for entring the War to ſave their Country, and thereby to ſave *Flanders* too; but they had made them no ill return, by continuing it now three years only for the Intereſts of *Spain*, ſince there remained nothing of conſequence between *France* and them. That they had further engag'd themſelves to carry it on this following Year, and ſo would have done with the Forces they did the laſt, if their Allies had performed the Parts they had likewiſe engaged. But for *Spain*, they took no care but to let them ſee they were reſolv'd to periſh; That they had ſent their Fleets home from *Sicily* without the payments agreed on, and left them to be paid by the States at their return. That not a Penny could be got of a great ſum

they

they ow'd them for Carriages and Provisions the last Summer, and which was design'd for Magazines against next Year in *Flanders*, without which their Armies could not march in that Country, where they were sure to find none of the *Spaniards* providing. That they had represented to *Spain* the necessity but of keeping so many Forces well regulated and paid, as might defend their Towns while the Prince should take the Field with the Army of the State, and hinder or divert any great Sieges there; but not a word of answer. That they had then desir'd them to receive so many of the Troops of the *German* Princes, their Allies, as might defend their most Important places; but instead of this, they drove them out of their Country. That for the Emperor, they had always told him, That unless his Army would march into *France*, or at least force them to a Battel by such Forces as might draw great Detachments of the *French* out of *Flanders*, that Country would not be sav'd the last Summer, or at least not the next, unless his Army took up their Quarters this Winter in *Alsatia*, or on that side of the *Rhine*. But at *Vienna* they consider'd *Flanders* as much as the *Dutch* do *Hungary*;

gary; and becauſe the Imperial Officers could better find their private account by Winter-Quarters in *Germany*, than in a Country haraſs'd like *Alſatia*, their Armies muſt repaſs the *Rhine* this Winter, and thereby loſe all the advantages of the laſt Campania, and hopes of the next. That for want of Magazines in *Flanders*, two or three ſtrong Frontiers would be loſt there next Spring, before the Imperialiſts could take the Field; and if *Cambray*, *Valencienne*, and *Mons* were taken, all the reſt would revolt, conſidering the miſeries they had already ſuffer'd, and muſt by a longer War; That the Prince would not be able to prevent it, or be ſoon enough in the Field to march, for want of Proviſions in *Flanders*, the Country growing deſolate by the unſettled Contributions: or at leaſt, not with ſuch an Army as to venture a Battel, or raiſe a Siege, while the *Spaniſh* Troops were ſo weak, and the *French* would be ſo ſtrong, at a time when they had no Enemy to divert them upon the *Rhine*. That the Prince's Friends could not ſuffer him to go into the Field only to ſee Towns loſt under his Noſe, and perhaps all *Flanders*, while He was expected to defend it, and at the ſame time

time was rendred incapable of doing it by the faults of the *Spaniards*, who yet would not fail to reproach him, as well as his Enemies abroad, and Ill-willers at home, that would be glad of the occasion. In the mean time, from *France* they could have whatever Conditions they pretended, either by restoring *Mastricht*, a *Reglement* of Commerce, or any Advantages to the House of *Orange*; and as to this last, whatever the Prince himself would demand: That to this purpose they had every Week pressing Letters from Monsieur *d'Estrades* to make the separate Peace; and tho' he should fall into it with the greatest regret that could be, yet he did not see what else was to be done, and did not know one Man in *Holland* that was not of the same mind. That he did not talk with me as an Ambassador, but a Friend, whose opinion he esteem'd and desir'd; That he told me freely, *Leur fort & leur foible*, and would be glad to know what else I thought they could do upon all these Circumstances, *Et dans accablement de leur Estat par une si longue guerre.* I return'd his Compliment,

Their strength and their weakness.

And in this distress of their State by so long a War.

but

but excus'd my self from giving my Opinion to a Person so well able to take measures that were the fittest for the States Conduct, or his own; but desir'd to know what He reckon'd would become of *Flanders* after the *Dutch* had made their separate Peace; because the Fate of that Country was that wherein the rest of their Neighbours were concern'd as well as they. He answer'd, It would be lost in one Summer or in two, but more probable in one; That he believ'd *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, and *Mons* might be lost in one Summer, That after their loss, the great Towns within would not offer at defending themselves, excepting *Antwerp* and *Ostend*, for which perhaps they might take some measures with *France*, as I knew the *French* had offer'd Monsieur *de Wit* upon their first Invasion in 1667. I ask'd him how he reckon'd this State was to live with *France* after the loss of *Flanders*? And if he thought it could be otherwise than at discretion? He desir'd me to believe, that if they could hope to save *Flanders* by the War, they would not think of a separate Peace, but if it must be lost, they had rather it should be by the last, which would less exhaust

their

their Country, and diſhonour the Prince; That after *Flanders* was loſt, they muſt live ſo with *France*, as would make them find it their Intereſt rather to preſerve their State, than to deſtroy it; That it was not to be choſen, but to be ſwallow'd like a deſperate Remedy; That he had hop'd for ſome *Reſource* from better Conduct in the *Spaniſh* Affairs, or that ſome great Impreſſion of the *German* Armies upon that ſide of *France* might have brought the Peace to ſome reaſonable Terms; That for his own part, he had ever believ'd that *England* it ſelf would cry Halt, at one ſtep or other that *France* was making, and that if we would be content to ſee half *Flanders* loſt, yet we would not all, nor *Sicily* neither, for the intereſt of our Trade in the *Mediterranean*. That the King had the Peace in his hands for theſe two years paſt, might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon ſuch Conditions as he ſhould think fit for Juſtice and Safety to the reſt of his Neighbours as well as himſelf. That all Men knew *France* was not in a condition to refuſe whatever Terms His Majeſty reſolv'd on, or to venture a War with *England* in conjunction with the reſt of the Allies. That the leaſt ſhow of it, if

at

at all credited in *France*, was enough to make the Peace. That they had long represented all this in *England* by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, and offer'd His Majesty to be the Arbiter of it, and to fall into the Terms he should prescribe, but not a word in answer, and all receiv'd with such a coldness as never was, tho' other People thought we had reason to be a little more concern'd. That this put him more upon thinking a Separate Peace necessary, than all the rest.

All means were first to be tryed

That he confess'd, *Cuncta prius tentanda*, till he found

An incurable wound.

at last 'twas *immedicabile vulnus*. That for their living with *France*, after *Flanders* was lost, he knew well enough what I meant by asking; but after that, the aims of *France* would be more upon *Italy* or *Germany*, or perhaps upon us than them; That it could not be the Interest of *France* to Destroy or Conquer this State, but to preserve it in a Dependance upon that Crown; That they could make better use of the *Dutch* Fleets, than of a few poor Fisher Towns that they should be reduc'd to if any Violations were made, either upon their Liberties or Religion. That the King of *France* had seen their Country, and knew

it,

and understood it so, and said upon all occasions, That he had rather have them for his Friends, than his Subjects. But if, after all, I concluded their State must fall in four and twenty hours, yet it were better for them to defer it to the last hour; and that it should happen at Night, rather than at Noon.

This was discours'd with such vehemence and warmth, that he was not able to go on; and having said, It was not a matter to be resolv'd between us Two, I left him, after wishing him health enough to go through the thoughts and businesses of so great a Conjuncture.

Next morning I went to the Prince, and, after some common talk, told him what had past in my visit to the Pensioner, and ask'd His Highness, If he had seen him since, or knew any thing of it? He said, No; and so I told him the *detail* of it: and upon conclusion, That he said he saw nothing else to be done, but to make a Separate Peace; and that he knew not a Man in *Holland* who was not of his mind. The Prince interrupted me, saying, Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is My Self, and I will hinder it as long as I can; but if any thing should happen to me, I know it would be done in two days

days time. I ask'd him, Whether he was of the Penſioner's mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campania? He ſaid, The appearances were ill; but Campania's did not always end as they began: That accidents might happen which no Man could foreſee; and that if they came to one fair Battel, none could anſwer for the Event. That the King might make the Peace, if he pleas'd, before it began; but if we were ſo indifferent as to let this Seaſon paſs, for his part, he muſt go on, and take his fortune. That he had ſeen that morning a poor Old Man, tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars, againſt the Eddy of a Sluce upon a Canal; that when with the laſt endeavours he was juſt got up to the place intended, the force of the Eddy carried him quite back again; but he turn'd his Boat as ſoon as he could, and fell to his Oars again; and thus three or four times while the Prince ſaw him. And concluded, this Old Man's buſineſs and His were too like one another, and that he ought however to do juſt as the Old Man did, without knowing what would ſucceed, any more than what did in the poor Man's Caſe.

All

All that passed upon these Discourses, represented very particularly to the Court; the first part immediately to the King, the rest to the Secretaries of State, and added my own opinion, That if His Majesty continued to interpose no further than by the bare and common Offices of his Mediation in the place and forms of a Treaty, and the *Austrians* held off from the progress of it, as well as the Northern Allies, and as they had all hitherto done, it would certainly follow, that the *French* and *Dutch* would fall into private Negotiations, and by what I could observe on both sides, were like to adjust them in a very little time, and leave them ready to clap up a Peace in two days, when the *Dutch* should grow more impatient of the slowness or unsincereness of their Allies proceedings in the General Treaty, or whenever the violent humour of the People should force the Prince to fall into the same Opinion with the States upon this matter. This I esteem'd my self oblig'd to say, that His Majesty might want no lights that were necessary upon so nice, and yet so dangerous a Conjuncture. I had His Majesty's Answer in a long Letter of his own Hand, complaining much of the Confederate Ministers in

in *England* caballing with Parliament-Men, and raiſing all Mens Spirits as high againſt the Peace as they could; and that they had done it to ſuch a degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any ſteps with *France* towards a General Peace, unleſs the *Dutch* Ambaſſador would firſt put in a Memorial, preſſing His Majeſty from the States to do it, and declaring, That without it they ſaw *Flanders* would be loſt.

From Secretary *Williamſon* I had no other Anſwer material upon all the Penſioners Diſcourſes, nor my own Opinion upon the preſent Conjuncture, but That His Majeſty, and the Lords of the Foreign Committee wonder'd I ſhould think the *French* were ſo ready for a Separate Peace, if the *Dutch* ſhould fall into thoſe thoughts; and that they did not remember they had ever receiv'd any thing from either Me, or my Colleague at *Nimeguen*, that look'd that way. Upon which, I told him the frequent Converſations I had had with Monſieur *Colbert* upon that Subject, and the ſeveral Letters the Penſioner had ſhewed me from the Mareſcal *d' Eſtrades*, or his Inſtrument at *Maſtricht*. But to all this I receiv'd no Anſwer, nor ſo much as Reflection,

flection, tho' I thought this part was my duty as Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, whether it were ſo as Mediator at *Nimeguen* or not.

The Prince and Penſioner were both willing the King ſhould be comply'd with in the Government of Monſieur *Van Beuningham*'s Paces and Language at *London*; but preſs'd me to write once more to know His Majeſty's Opinion upon the Terms of a Peace; or elſe, he ſaid, it would be too late, while the Seaſon advanc'd towards the Campania. Upon which I deſir'd him to conſider, there might be three Weeks difference between his firſt telling his own Thoughts to His Majeſty, and receiving His Majeſty's Opinion upon it; or ſending firſt to know His Majeſty's, then returning his own, and afterwards expecting the King's again, in caſe they differ'd; beſides I believ'd His Majeſty would take it kinder, and as a piece of more Confidence, if His Highneſs made no difficulty of explaining himſelf firſt. The Prince paus'd a while, and then ſaid, To ſhew the Confidence he deſir'd to live in with His Majeſty, he would make no further difficulty of it, tho' he might have many reaſons to do it. That if the King had a mind to make a ſudden Peace, he thought he

must do it upon the foot of *Aix la Chappelle*; which he would have the more ground for, becauſe it was a Peace he both made and warranted. That for Exchanges, he thought there ſhould be no other propos'd upon it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charleroy* for *Aire* and St. *Omer*, which two laſt he thought imported a great deal more to *France* than the others, unleſs they would declare, that they intended to end this War with the proſpect of beginning another, by which they might get the reſt of *Flanders*. That this was all needed paſs between *France* and *Spain*; and for the Emperor and this State, that the firſt having taken *Philipsburgh* from the *French*, ſhould raze it; and the *French* having taken *Maſtricht* from the *Dutch*, ſhould raze it too, and ſo this whole War ſhould paſs *Comme au tourbillon qui avoit ceſſé apres avoir menacé beaucoup & fait fort peu de remuements au monde.*

As a Storm that has ceas'd, after it had threatned much, and made but little Alteration in the World.

I was ſuppriz'd to hear a Propoſition ſo on the ſudden, ſo ſhort, and ſo deciſive, and that ſeem'd ſo eaſie towards a ſhort Cloſe, if His Majeſty ſhould fall into it; and I eſteem'd it a ſtrain in the Prince of the moſt conſummate Knowledge

ledge in the whole preſent Scheme of Affairs, and moſt deciſive Judgment upon them, that he could have given after the longeſt Deliberation and matureſt Advice. I obſerv'd however to His Highneſs upon it, That he had not explain'd what was to become of *Lorrain* and *Burgundy*; and next, Whether he believ'd it at all likely, that *France*, after ſuch Acquiſitions made in this War, and ſo many more expected, ſhould come to ſuch Reſtitutions of what they poſſeſs'd, without any equivolent. The Prince reply'd, both were explain'd by the Terms he propos'd of *Aix la Chapelle*; That for *Lorrain*, *France* never pretended to keep it but from the laſt Duke only. That *Burgundy* could not be parted with by *Spain*, without the *French* reſtoring ſo many Towns for it in *Flanders* as would raiſe endleſs Debates, draw the Buſineſs into lengths, and ſo leave it to the Deciſion of another Campania. For the Second, he ſaid, He had reaſon to doubt it, and did not believe it would be done, but by His Majeſty's vigorous interpoſition, by that he was ſure it would be eaſily effected; but if His Majeſty would not endeavour it, the War muſt go on, and God Almighty muſt decide it. That all

the Allies would be glad of it, and believ'd that upon *Don John*'s coming to the Head of the *Spaniſh* Affairs, there would be a new World there. That however, one Town well defended, or one Battel well fought, might change the Scene. That for himſelf, he would confeſs, the King could never do ſo kind a part, as to bring him with ſome Honour out of this War, and upon ſome moderate terms: but if he was content that *France* ſhould make them inſupportable, they would venture All, rather than receive them. And for *Holland*'s making it a Separate Peace, let the Penſioner, or any others tell me what they would, they ſhould never do it while He was alive, and was able to hinder it; and he would ſay one thing more to me, That he believ'd he was able to hinder it; That if he died, he knew it would be done next day; but when that ſhould happen, this Matter muſt be ſome others care, and perhaps We in *England* were the moſt concern'd to look after it.

I promis'd to repreſent all he had ſaid directly to His Majeſty, and ſo I did immediately; and the Prince went next day to *Dieren*, within ſix Leagues of *Nimeguen*, where I promis'd to come to him

as

as soon as I should be possess'd of His Majesty's Answer. And I am the more particular in all these Discourses with the Prince and the Pensioner upon this great Conjuncture, because they do not only discover the true Springs from which the Peace was afterwards deriv'd, but represent most of the Interests of *Christendom*, as they were observ'd by the two Persons that, next to Monsieur *De Witt*, understood them the best of any I ever met with in the course of my Negotiations.

After the Prince was gone, I had one Conference more with the Pensioner, who told me, He was still of opinion it must come to a Separate Peace; That he had told the Emperor's Ministers the same thing; and that if they did not at *Vienna* fall into the Measures propos'd and insisted on by the States, before the middle of *February* next, they should be forc'd to make it. That if *Don Emanuel de Lyra* had not now assur'd them of the *Remises* being actually come from *Spain*, for payment of the last Years Charge of the Fleets, both in the *Mediterranean* and *Baltick*, according to Agreement, the Peace could not have been kept off this Winter it self. I told him, The Prince

was of another mind, and had ſaid to me a Separate Peace ſhould never be made while he liv'd, and was able to hinder it; and that he believ'd he ſhould have That in his Power. The Penſioner reply'd, He ſhould come to it with as much regret as the Prince himſelf; but that His Highneſs himſelf might be forc'd to it by the ill conduct of his Allies, the ill Succeſſes of the next Campania, and the Mutinies of the People, to which they were already but too much diſpos'd at *Amſterdam* by the Delays of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*. That the late Revolution in *Spain* againſt the Queen Regent and her Miniſtry, had ſhew'd enough what might be brought about by a violent and general Humour of the People; and the Prince knew the Country too well, to go too far againſt it. That it was in His Majeſty's hands to make a General Peace, if he pleas'd, before the Campania began; and perhaps it was in the Conduct of *Spain* and the Emperor to engage *Holland* in one Campania more, by the Meaſures they had propos'd: If both theſe fail'd, a Separate Peace muſt be made.

While I ſtaid at the *Hague*, which was about a Month, my Colleague at *Nimeguen*

guen had, it ſeems, found out a Negotiation grown between the *French* Ambaſſadors and *Monſieur Beverning*, ſeparate from the Miniſters of his Allies, and without any Communication of the Mediators, which they ſuſpected would end in a Separate Peace. Of this they thought fit to give part to the Court, and of their Suſpicions upon it, as they had done in my abſence; and receiv'd an immediate Order upon it, That in caſe they found a ſeparate Peace concluding or concluded between *France* and *Holland* at *Nimeguen*, they ſhould proteſt publickly againſt it in his Majeſty's Name. This my Colleague, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* writ to me at the *Hague*, about the 10*th* of *January*, and was in great pain upon it. He apprehended the thing, but expected not to know it till it was done, and then doubted any good Conſequences from our Proteſtation: He deſired I would both ſend him my Thoughts upon it, and the ſame to Court as ſoon as I could.

I did ſo, both to my Lord Treaſurer, and Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, and told them very freely, That I could not underſtand the reaſon or the drift of ſuch an Order as my Colleagues had receiv'd

to make such a Protestation. That if a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland* were thought as dangerous in the Court, as I knew it was in the Country, the King might endeavour to prevent it, and had it still in his power, as he had had a great while: But if it were once concluded, I did not see any other effect of our Protestation, unless it were to irritate both the Parties, and bind them the faster, by our being angry at their conjunction. Nor did I know what ground could be given for such a Protestation; for tho' the Parties had accepted His Majesty's Mediation of a General Peace, yet none of them had oblig'd themselves to His Majesty not to treat a Separate One, or without His Offices of Mediation: And if they had, I did not see why the same Interests that could make them break through so many Obligations to their Allies, should not make them as bold with a Mediator. That as to prevent the thing may be a very wise and necessary Councel, so His Majesty's Resolution in it ought to be signified as early as can be, where it is likely to be of moment to that end, which was to *France*: But if the thing should be first done, as I could not tell how well to ground

ground our Offence, ſo I could as little how to ſeek our Revenge; and it would be to ſtay till we were ſtuck, and then truſt to crying out. That, to the beſt of my ſenſe, it were better to anger any one of the Parties before a Separate Peace, than Both of them after; and if we muſt ſtrain any points of Courteſie with them, to do it rather by making a Fair and General Peace, than by complaining or proteſting againſt a Separate One.

I thought, I confeſs, That this Repreſentation from my Colleagues, without any knowledge of mine, or ſuſpicion that the matter was working up at *Nimeguen* when I left it, and yet agreeing ſo much with what I had foreſeen and repreſented from the *Hague*, and meeting ſuch a Reſentment at our Court, as appear'd by the Order tranſmitted to my Colleagues upon it; There was little queſtion but His Majeſty would declare himſelf upon the Terms of a General Peace to both parties, which I knew very well would be refus'd by neither, if he were poſitive in it, and ſupported, as he would certainly have been by the Prince. But our Councils at Court were ſo in Balance, between the Deſires of living at leaſt fair with *France*, and the

the. Fears of too much diſpleaſing the Parliaments upon their frequent Seſſions, that our Paces upon this whole Affair look'd all like croſs Purpoſes, which no Man at Home or Abroad could well underſtand, and were often miſtaken by both Parties engag'd in the War, as well as by both Parties in the Houſe of Commons, till the thing was wreſted out of our Hands.

About the twenty fifth of *January*, 1677, I receiv'd His Majeſty's Anſwer to my laſt Diſpatches by the Princes Directions, and carried them immediately away to *Diarin*, which was a little out of my way to *Nimeguen*, and there communicated them to the Prince. They conſiſted of two Parts; The Firſt, An Offer of His Majeſty's entring into the ſtrongeſt defenſive Alliance with the States, thereby to ſecure them from all Apprehenſions from *France*, after the Peace ſhould be made. The Second was His Majeſty's Remarks, rather than Concluſion or Judgment upon the Terms propos'd by the Prince for a Peace. That he believ'd it might be compaſs'd with *France*, upon the exchange of *Cambray*, *Ayre*, and St. *Omer*, for *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Conde*, and *Bouchain*: That this

this Scheme was what His Majesty thought possible to be obtain'd of *France*, tho' not what was to be wish'd.

I observ'd the Princes Countenance to change when I nam'd *Cambray* and the rest of the Towns, yet he heard me through, and the many nice Reasons of Sir *J*——*W*——— upon the matter, as of a double Frontier this would give to *Flanders*, the safety whereof was the thing both His Majesty and the States were most concern'd in, and many other ways of cutting the Feather: After which the Prince said, He believ'd Dinner was ready, and we would talk of it after we had din'd, and so went out; but as he was near the Door, he turn'd to me and said, Tho' we should talk more of it after Dinner, yet he would tell me now, and in few words, That he must rather die than make such a Peace.

After Dinner, we went again into his Chamber, where he began with telling me I had spoil'd his Dinner: That he had not expected such a return of the Confidence he had begun towards His Majesty. He observ'd the Offer of Alliance came to me in a Letter of His Majesty's own Hand; but That about the Terms of a Peace, from the Secretary only;

only; That it was in a Style, as if he thought him a Child, or to be fed with *Whipt Cream*; That ſince all this had been before the Foreign Commitee, He knew very well it had been with the *French* Ambaſſador too, and that the Terms were his, and a great deal worſe than they could have directly from *France*. He caſt them up diſtinctly, and what in plain Language they amounted to; That *Spain* muſt part with all *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and St. *Omer*, which were of the value of two other Provinces in the conſequences of any War between *France* and *Spain*, and all for the five Towns mentioned; That in ſhort, all muſt be ventur'd, ſince He was in, and found no other way out. I told the Prince that I hop'd he would ſend His Majeſty his own Thoughts upon it; but that he would think a little more before he did it. He ſaid, He would write to the King that night, but would not enter into the *detail* of the Buſineſs, which was not worth the Pains, but would leave it to me. He deſir'd me further to let His Majeſty know, that he had been very plain in what he had told me of his own Thoughts upon this whole matter, and had gone as low as he could with

with any regard to the ſafety of his Country, and his Allies, or his Honour; That he doubted whether *Spain* would ever have conſented to thoſe very Terms; but for theſe he knew they could not, tho' they were ſure to loſe all *Flanders* by the War: And for himſelf, he could never propoſe it to them; but if *Flanders* were left in that poſture, it could never be defended upon another Invaſion neither by *Holland* nor *England* it ſelf; and he was ſo far of the *Spaniard's* Mind, That if *Flanders* muſt be loſt, it had better be ſo by a War than by a Peace; That whenever that was, *Holland* muſt fall into an abſolute dependance upon *France*, ſo that what His Majeſty offer'd of an Alliance with them, would be to no purpoſe, for they would not be made the Stage of a War after the loſs of *Flanders*, and wherein they were ſure no Alliance of His Majeſty, nor Forces neither could defend them. He concluded, That if His Majeſty would help him out of this War with any Honour and ſafety, either upon kindneſs to him, or conſideration of what Concernment his own Crowns were like to have in the iſſue of this Affair, He would acknowledge, and endeavour to deſerve it as long as he liv'd;

liv'd; if not the War must go on, be the event what it would; and for His own part, He would rather charge a thousand Men with an hundred, nay tho' he were sure to die in the Charge, than enter into any concert of a Peace upon these Conditions.

I gave his Majesty an account of all that pass'd in this Interview, and return'd to my Post at *Nimeguen*.

The Allies had taken great umbrage at my Journey to the *Hague*, as design'd for negotiating some Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*; but the Prince and Pensioner seem'd careless to satisfie them, and made that use only of it, to let them know that no such thing was yet intended, but that *Holland* would be forc'd to it at last, if the Emperor and *Spain* fell not into those Measures that they had propos'd to them both at *Vienna* and *Madrid*, for the vigorous prosecution of the next Campania, which had some effect at *Vienna*, but little in *Spain* or *Flanders*, as was felt in the beginning of the Spring.

At my return to *Nimeguen*, I found that in my Absence Count *Kinkski* was arriv'd, who was a Person of great Parts, of a sharp and quick Apprehension, but exact

exact and ſcrupulous in his Conduct, rigid in his Opinions, never before vers'd in theſe ſort of Imployments, and thereby very punctilious; This had engag'd him in difficulties upon the Ceremony of Viſits both with my Colleagues and the *French* upon his firſt arrival, which laſted with theſe till the end of the Congreſs, ſo as to hinder all Viſits between them; but I had the good fortune to retrieve all ill Correſpondence that had happen'd between the Mediators and him; I found likewiſe that a ſecret Intelligence was grown between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, which was manag'd by Monſieur *Olivecrantz*, the ſecond *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, and wholly apart from my Colleagues, whoſe intervention had been only us'd when the matter was firſt agreed between thoſe Parties. That Monſieur *Beverning* drove on very violently towards a Peace and with little regard of his Allies, and ſaid he had order from the States, *De pouſſer l' affaire tant qu'il lui ſeroit poſſible.* That thoſe Ambaſſadors had come to a ſort of agreement about the form and number of Powers, which was, That the Mediators ſhould be deſir'd to draw up a form of Preamble, which

To puſh the Buſineſs on as far as it is poſſible

which ſhould be common to all the Parties, and contain nothing more, but that ſuch and ſuch Princes, out of a ſincere deſire of Peace, had ſent ſuch and ſuch Perſons to *Nimeguen*, which had been choſe for the Place of Treaty, by the interceſſion of the King of *Great Britain*. That the Mediators ſhould likewiſe draw up an obligatory Act, to be ſign'd by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, and put into their hands on the ſame day, for the procuring new Powers within ſixty days after the Date. That the Titles in the new Powers ſhould be inſerted, *bona fide*, according to the uſual Stile of the Chancellary of each Court; and that an Act of Salvo ſhould be ſign'd by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, for no Conſequence to be drawn hereafter, for the uſe or omiſſion of any Titles in theſe Powers.

I found likewiſe, that theſe Points had been agreed among all the Allies, by the formal Invtervention of my Colleagues after they had firſt been concerted between the *French* and *Dutch*. That theſe Ambaſſadors had entred into a courſe of mutual Viſits, owning publickly, That they did it, as neceſſary to facilitate the Progreſs of the Treaty; and that the *Dutch* began to talk of finiſhing

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an eventual Treaty (as they call'd it) for themſelves, as ſoon as the *Acts* about Powers were wholly diſpatch'd, which ſhould not take place till the General Peace was concluded, but after which They, the *Dutch*, intended to imploy their Offices between their Allies and the *French*.

I found likewiſe, that Mr. *Hide* had encreas'd the Number of the Mediators in my Abſence, who having been ſent into *Poland* the Summer paſt, to Chriſten that King's Child, and to Condole with the Emperour upon the late Empreſs's Death, had perform'd the firſt Compliment from his Majeſty; but upon his coming from thence to *Vienna*, found the Emperour married, and ſo paſs'd on privately home, and arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, ſoon after I left it upon my Journey to the *Hague*; where he came to me, after having ſtaid a Fornight at *Nimeguen*. He told me at the *Hague*, That upon his Return by *Rotterdam*, he had there met Letters from Court with a Commiſſion to ſtop for ſome ſhort time at *Nimeguen*, and take the Character, of one of the Ambaſſadors Mediators there, by which he might be enabl'd at his return to give his Majeſty an account of the State

and progreſs of Affairs there. He ſaid, this Commiſſion was intended to find him at *Nimeguen*, upon the ſtop he made there; but having not arriv'd till he had left that Place, he was in doubt whether he ſhould make any uſe of it or no, and deſir'd my Advice, whether to return to *Nimeguen* or to go forward for *England*. I eaſily perceiv'd what this diſpatch was intended for, to introduce him into thoſe kind of Characters and Employments; and ſo adviſed him to go back to *Nimeguen*, which he did, and made a part of the Ambaſſy during a ſhort ſtay there, but excus'd himſelf from entring into the management of any Conferences or Diſpatches; ſo that by his Modeſty, and my Lord *Berkley's* great age and infirmities, the Fatigue of that Employment lay ſtill upon me and Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, who writ alternatively the Diſpatches from the Ambaſſy to Court, and the others to other Princes and Miniſters, by concert, all the while I was upon the Place.

I found likewiſe at my return to *Nimeguen*, ſome few Difficulties yet remaining, which obſtructed the Diſpatch intended about the Powers; For tho' the *French* had conſented to furniſh new Powers

Powers, and ſeveral for the Emperor, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*; yet they refus'd a diſtinct one for *Brandenburgh*, which theſe Miniſters inſiſted on; and the *Dutch* were in ſuch obligations to that Prince, that they were forc'd to do ſo too, tho' unwillingly, as doubting the Succeſs with *France*, and foreſeeing the Conſequence of the ſame Pretence to be rais'd upon it by other Princes of *Germany*, not only Electors, but the Houſes of *Lunenburgh*, and *Nieuburgh*, who yielded to the Electors in no Point but that one of Precedence. But the *Dutch*, to diſtinguiſh that of *Brandenburgh*, alledg'd to us, that he was Principal in the War of *Sueden*, and ſo could not be included as an Ally only either by the Emperor, or by the States.

The *Daniſh* Ambaſſador ſtood poſitively upon the common Uſe of the *Latin* Tongue between *France* and them in their Powers, or elſe to give his in *Daniſh*, if they gave theirs in *French*. *Theſe* ſaid, That it was a Novelty and an Impertinence; and that if in all the Intercourſe that had ever been between thoſe Two Crowns, the Language had not been *French* on their ſide, and *Latin* on the *Danes*, even in any one Inſtrument, they were content they ſhould give their

Powers not only in *Daniſh*, but in *Hebrew* if they pleas'd. The *Dane* ſaid He could not give account of all Preſidents; that if ill ones had been hitherto us'd, 'twas time to eſtabliſh new ones that were good. That his Maſter had more Right to do it than any former King, being now Succeſſive in that Crown, which was before Elective; and being more Abſolute in his Dominions than any other King of *Chriſtendom*; for there was now nothing in *Denmark*, but *La volonté du Roy*; upon all which he ſaid his Orders were poſitve, and he could not proceed without the Style he pretended.

The Will of the King.

Theſe two Points chiefly had obſtructed the final Agreement about the Powers, for near a month; after which we prevail'd with the *French* to yield to new Powers for *Brandenburgh*, upon Aſſurance from the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, that they expected no ſuch Pretenſion for any other of their *German* Allies; but that if any ſhould be rais'd and refus'd by *France*, yet that ſhould not hinder or delay the *Dutch* from proceeding in the Treaty. The *Daniſh* Pretence about the Languages, being neither countenanc'd nor approv'd by any of his Allies, was at laſt yielded by him, which had been better never

never ſtarted as having loſt him ground in that which was intended by it, which was to eſtabliſh the Principle of a Parity among Crown'd Heads.

There was an Accident happen'd likewiſe in my abſence, which had rais'd great Heats among the Parties. Upon Count *Kinkski*'s Arrival, the Allies began their Meetings at his Houſe; by which they hop'd to govern the general Reſolutions, and keep the Alliance from breaking into any ſeparate Pieces. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, who pretended to influence the Peace more than any of their Allies, ſtomach'd the Count's Deſign and Carriage at theſe Conferences, where they ſaid he pretended to be ſole Dictator, and they were unwilling to enter into plain Contradictions, or the ſame Heats at his own Houſe; upon which they went to the Stadthouſe, and choſe *there* a Room for their Conferences among all the Allies, which upon the firſt Practice gave great Offence to the *French* Ambaſſadors. They ſaid it was a Breach upon the Neutrality of the Place eſtabliſh'd by the Aſſembly's being there, and that the *Dutch* had now arrogated to themelves the Diſpoſal of the Town-Houſe, without common Agreement,

The *Dutch* alledg'd, the Rooms they had taken were not belonging to the Town, but to the Nobles of *Gelderland*, and were below Stairs, and that all above remain'd to be diſpos'd of ſtill by the Mediators for the common Uſe of the Parties when they ſhould deſire it. The *French* were not ſatisfied with theſe Reaſons, and threatned to break the Aſſembly. We at laſt prevail'd with the Allies to forbear the Uſe of the Stadthouſe, till we drew up a formal Propoſal to be made by us the Mediators, to all Parties, deſiring them that for their eaſe and Convenience, all Parties would meet in one Room at the Stadthouſe, or at leaſt the two Alliances in two ſeveral Rooms, whilſt we ſhould meet in another, and be there ready to perform all Offices between them. This laſt was accepted, and we deſign'd the ſeveral Rooms for our Selves and the Parties, but were forc'd to find two Rooms for the *French* and *Suedes* to meet apart, whoſe Competition, tho' Allies, would not ſuffer them to meet in one, or decide it by lot, as the *Spaniard* and *Dane* had done.

There remain'd one Difficulty more, which particulary concern'd His Majeſty. Both *French* and *Spaniards*, as well

well as Imperialiſts, had inſiſted even with Emulation, That the Pope's Mediation ſhould be mention'd in the new Powers, as well as his Majeſty's. The *Dutch* and *Danes* both had abſolutely refus'd to treat upon any Powers where the Pop's Mediation ſhould be mentioned. We had likewiſe repreſented to them how great a Difference there was between his Majeſty's Mediation, that had been accepted by all Parties, and the Pope's that had been ſo only by a part of them: and the very mention of it abſolutely refus'd by ſeveral others, to be admitted into the Powers. That his Majeſty's Mediation had propos'd the Place of Treaty, exchang'd the Paſſports, form'd the Aſſembly, manag'd all the Negotiations in it ſo long, without the appearance of any Miniſter from the Pope, or knowledge whether he would be receiv'd if he came, or by whom his Mediation would be accepted or imploy'd. At length it was reſolv'd, That the Mention of his Majeſty's Mediation alone, ſhould be made in the ſeveral Powers: and ſo all being agreed, about the middle of *February*, all the ſeveral Acts were ſign'd, and put into our Hands, and by us exchang'd among the ſeveral Parties.

After this diſpatch of all Preliminaries to the Treaty, the ſeveral Parties by Agreement brought into our Hands their ſeveral Propoſitions or Pretenſions. The *French* ſeem'd in Theirs to demand nothing of the Emperour and of *Brandenburgh*, but the entire reſtoring of the Treaty of *Munſter*: Of *Spain*, the retaining of all they had conquer'd in this War, upon the *Spaniards* having firſt broken the Peace. From the States General they made no Demand, but offer'd them the reſtoring of their Friendſhip, and that they will hearken to a Treaty of Commerce. On the other ſide, the Emperour's Demands were, That *France* ſhould reſtore to him, the Empire, and all his Allies, what-ever they had taken from them in the courſe of this War, and make Reparation for all Damages they had ſuffer'd in it. The *Spaniards* demanded all the Places they had loſt, and all the Damages they had ſuffer'd from *France* ſince the Year 1665. The *Dutch* demanded from *France*, the Reſtitution of *Maſtritcht*, Satisfaction to the Prince of *Orange* in what did concern the Principality of *Orange*, and a Reglement of Commerce, with a Renunciation of all Pretenſions each Party

Party might have upon the other. As for the great Damages they had ſuſtain'd, they ſaid they ſacrific'd them all to the Publick Peace, provided Satisfaction might be given their Allies.

For the Northern Kings, and *German* Princes, their Demands were ſo extended that I ſhall forbear relating them, and ſum them up in this only; That thoſe who had gained by the War, pretended to retain all they had got; and thoſe that had loſt, pretended to recover all they had loſt, and to be repaid the Damages they had ſuffer'd by the War. Count *Kinkski* deliver'd into our Hand's likewiſe the Duke of *Lorrain's* Pretenſions, ſeal'd as the reſt were; but we opened them not, upon the *French* telling us, they had not received from Court any Counter-Pretenſions upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, whereof they believ'd the Reaſon to be, That no Miniſter of his had yet appear'd at the Congreſs. Indeed their Pretenſions againſt *Lorrain*, had never yet been made ſince the Death of the late Duke, and would have been very hard to draw up by their ableſt Miniſters or Advocates themſelves; and therefore they thought fit to decline them, and reſerve them for the Terms of

of a Peace, when they ſhould be able to preſcribe, rather than to treat them.

By theſe Propoſitions of the ſeveral Parties, it eaſily appear'd to the World, what wiſe Men knew before, how little Hopes there were of a Peace, from the Motions of this Treaty in the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, and how it was wholly to be expected from the courſe and influence of future Events in the Progreſs of the War.

About the 24*th* of *February*, I went to the Prince at his Houſe at *Soeſdike*, a Day's Journey from *Nimeguen*, upon a Letter from his Highneſs, deſiring it of me. I had about a Week before written to him by the King's Command, upon which his Highneſs deſir'd to ſpeak with me. I went and told him the Contents of my Laſt Diſpatch. He ask'd me whether it were from the King himſelf, or from any of the Miniſters. I told him, it was from Secretary *Williamſon*, by the Kings Command. The Prince ſaid, Then he knew from whence it came; but however, deſir'd me to read the Pariculars to him, which were the King's Apprehenſion of a Miſtake in the Prince, becauſe the Terms mention'd by his Majeſty were not any Propo-

Propositions (which he did not think his part to make) nor had he any Authority for it, but only a piece of Confidence he had enter'd into with the Prince. Next, That the Exchange of *Cambray* was only propos'd, as a thing to be wish'd, that so six Towns might be restor'd to *Spain*, instead of five the Prince had propos'd, which in his Majesty's Opinion would make a kind of a double Frontier to *Brussels*, and so leave *Flanders* safer than by the Prince's Scheme; therefore his Majesty desir'd the Prince would think further of it, and not let it fall so flat as he did by his last Answer, without trying what it could be beaten out to. But however offer'd That if his Highness had any other Proposition to make to *France*, the King would very readily hand it over to them in the best manner he could.

Whil'st I was reading this to the Prince, He could hardly hear it out with any Patience, Sir *J——W——*'s Style was always so disagreeable to him; and he thought the whole cast of this so artificial, that he receiv'd it at first with Indignation and Scorn, rather than with those further Thoughts that were desir'd of him. He said the Style of *Letting it fall*

Whipt Cream.

fall so flat, was my Lord *Arlington's*, and *The double Frontier, as it were, for* Brussels, was some of the Secretary's *Cresme Foitte*, and fit for Children. The rest he took to be all the *French* Ambassador's, who would fain continue a private Treaty with him by the King's Hand, while his Master went into the Field. His Answer was very plain: That he had thought enough of it, and had no more to say at this time; That when he spoke to me so lately at the *Hague*, He believ'd the Peace might have been made, and upon better terms than he propos'd, if the King had desir'd them from *France*, either upon Kindness to Him, or upon the Interests of his own Crowns. That he was sorry to find the King's Thoughts so different from his, and that whenever they grew nearer, he should be glad to know it. But he look'd now upon the Campania as begun; and believ'd at the time we talk'd, the Guns were playing before *Valenciennes*. That he saw now no hopes of a Peace, but expected a long War, unless *Flanders* should be lost, and in that case the States must make the best terms they could. That he expected a very ill Beginning of the Campania, and to make an ill Figure in it himself, and to bear the

the Shame of Faults that others would make; but if the Emperor perform'd what he had promis'd, the Campania might not end as it began. That however he was in, and muſt go on, *Et quant on eſt a la grande meſſe on y eſt* (meaning, I ſuppoſe, that one muſt ſtay till 'tis done, becauſe the Crowd is ſo great one can't get out) That he gave his Majeſty thanks for his offer of handing over to *France* any Propoſition he ſhould make; but that never was His Meaning: For if it had He could eaſily have found a directer way. That his Intention was only to enter into a Confidence with his Majeſty upon the Subject of the Peace, and to owe it wholly to him; but if any thing was propos'd by the King to *France*, otherwiſe than as his own Thoughts, it muſt be from the Body of the Alliance, and not from Him.

And when one is at High Maſs, one is at it.

After theſe Diſcourſes, the Prince went immediately away for the *Hague*, and I return'd to *Nimeguen*, where all Negotiations ſeem'd wholly at a ſtand, and ſo continued till towards the end of *April*. In this time arriv'd Monſieur *Stratman*, one of the Imperial Ambaſſadors; Monſieur *Chriſtin*, one of the *Spaniſh*; but He

He and *Don Pedro* having only the Character of Plenipotentiaries, and pretending thereupon the Treatment of Ambaſſadors, and the *French* and *Suedes* refuſing it to that Character, they continued *incognito* till the Arrival of the Marquiſs *de Balbaces*.

For Monſieur *Stratman* upon his Notification to the ſeveral Ambaſſadors (as he ſaid at the ſame time) the *Dane* and the *Suede* made him firſt their Viſits, and after them the *French*; whereupon having firſt made his to the Mediators, he return'd them to the *Suedes*, the *Dane* being out of Town, after which he ſent to demand an Hour of the *French*; but Monſieur *d' Eſtrades* return'd him anſwer, that having fail'd of the Reſpect due to the King his Maſter, they would not admit of any Viſit from him. Hereupon Monſieur *Kinkski* and *Stratman* deſir'd us to know upon what point the *French* refus'd their Viſit, ſaying, It could be upon no other but a Pretence of Preference to all other Crowns, and expecting the firſt Viſit to be made the *French*, tho' other Ambaſſadors had firſt viſited the Imperialiſts. This they deſir'd much the *French* would avow, believing it would embroil them with the *Suedes* as well

well as with us, who they knew would declare against any such Pretence. But the *French*, upon our Application from the Imperialists, kept stanch to their first answer, that Monsieur *Stratman, avoit manqué du respect au Roy leur Maistre.* That he had done it in several Points, and knew very well in what: And further than this, they would not enter into the Matter, but continued positive in refusing the Visit.

Had been wanting in respect to the King their Master.

Whilst such matters as these help'd to amuse the Congress, and kept them in Countenance, the essential parts of the Treaty were manag'd in the Field: *France* had in the beginning of the Year block'd up *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, about the end of *February*, having provided sufficient Magazines in the Winter for the subsistance of their Forces, they began to break into *Flanders*, and into the Parts of *Germany* on t'other side the *Rhine*, and with all the most cruel Ravages of Burning and spoiling those Parts of *Germany* that could be exercis'd, and such as had not yet been us'd on either Side since the War began. The Allies made complaints of this new manner of War to His Majesty, who employed his Offices

Offices towards *France*, to hinder such prosecution of a Quarrel, while a Peace was treating under his Mediation; but the thing was done, and their Point was gain'd, which was by an entire Ruin of the Country, to hinder the Imperialists from finding any subsistence for their Troops if they should march into *Alsatia*, and thereby divert those Forces that the *French* resolv'd to employ this Spring in *Flanders*, before the *Dutch* could take the Field, and march to the relief of those Places they intended to attack.

About the seventeenth of *March*, the King of *France* took *Valenciennes*, having surmounted the very Force of the Seasons, and set down before it about the beginning of that Month. From thence he march'd with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to St. *Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. After five day's Siege from the opening of the Trenches, he took *Cambray*, like all the other *Spanish* Towns, by surrender upon Articles; but the Cittadel held out for some Days longer.

In the mean time, the *Dutch* having receiv'd their Payments due from *Spain*, and finding the French go on with their de-

design upon *Flanders*, whilst the Treaty serv'd but for an Amusement, resolv'd to go on with the War for another Campania; being kept up to this Resolution by the vigor of the Prince of *Orange*, in pressing them upon the observance of their Treaties, and pursuit of their Interest, in the defence of *Flanders*. Upon the first motion of the *French*, the Prince had begun to prepare for that of his Troops likewise, and press'd the *Spaniards* to have theirs in readiness to joyn him, and with all imaginable Endeavours provided for the Subsistance of his Army in their march through *Flanders*, which the *Spaniards* had taken no care of. But with all the Diligence and Application that could be us'd, he could not come to the Relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*, but with part of the Forces of the States alone, and without either Troops, or so much as Guides furnish'd him by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly towards St. *Omer*, resolute to raise that Siege with a hazard of a Battel, at what disadvantage soever. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a small part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before St. *Omer*, march'd to meet the Prince of *Orange*, and upon the way was reinforc'd by

Monſieur *de Lutzenburgh* with all the Troops the *French* King could ſend out of his Army, leaving only enough to contiuue the Siege before the Cittadel of *Cambray*. Theſe Armies met, and fought with great bravery at *Mont-Caſſel*, where, after a ſharp diſpute, the firſt Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break, and fall into diſorder: the Prince went immediately to that part where the ſhock began, rally'd them ſeveral times, and renew'd the Charge; but at laſt was born down by the plain flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to reſiſt like Enemies, and fall in among them with his Sword in his Hand; and cutting the firſt croſs over the face, cry'd out aloud, *Cocquin je te marqueray au moins a ſin de te faire pendre.* Voice nor Action, Threats nor Example, could give Courage to Men that had already loſt it; and ſo the Prince was forc'd to yield to the ſtream that carried him back to the reſt of his Troops, which yet ſtood firm; with whom, and what he could gather of thoſe that had been routed, he made a Retreat that wanted little of the Honour of a Victory; and will, by the confeſſion of his Enemies, make a part of that great Character they ſo juſtly allow him. The ſafety of

Raſcal! I'll ſet a Mark on thee at leaſt, that I may hang thee afterwards.

of the *Dutch* Army, upon this Misfortune, was by them wholly own'd to his Highneſs's Conduct, as well as Bravery in the courſe of this Action; after which both *St. Omer* and the Citadel of *Cambray* were ſurrendred to the *French* about the twentieth of *April*, with which the *Spaniards* loſt the main ſtrength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that ſide, (as they had done that on the other by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* in the former War,) and all the hopes of raiſing any Contributions in *France*, which was a great part of the ſubſiſtence of the *Spaniſh* Troops; ſo as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier conſiderable, beſides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, *Oſtend* and *Nieuport* to the Sea; and the reſt of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* conſiſted only of great Towns, by which no reſiſtence could be hop'd for whenever the *French* ſhould think fit to attaque them, and could ſpare Men enough to Gariſon them when they ſhould be taken. For the greateſt of thoſe Towns, and multitude of Inhabitants, and their inveterate hatred to the *French* Government, was ſuch, as without very great Gariſons they could not be held, unleſs upon one ſudden Conqueſt and great Revolution, the whole *Spaniſh Netherlands* ſhould become *French*, and thereby be made a new Fron-

tier towards the *Dutch* and *Germans*, and, like a new Conqueſt, the Seat of their Armies.

This the *Spaniards* thought would never be ſuffer'd, neither by *England* nor *Holland*, and ſo they ſeem'd to have abandoned the Fate of *Flanders* to their Care, with a Reſignation that became good Chriſtians, rather than good Reaſoners: For I have long obſerv'd from all I have ſeen, or heard, or read in Story, that nothing is ſo falacious, as to reaſon upon the Councels or Conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the true Intereſt of their Countries; for there is in all Places an Intereſt of thoſe that Govern, and another of thoſe that are Governed; nay, among theſe, there is an Intereſt of quiet Men, that deſire only to keep what they have; and another of unquiet Men, who deſire to acquire what they have not, and by violent, if they cannot by lawful means; therefore I never could find a better way of judging the Reſolutions of a State, than by the perſonal Temper and Underſtanding, or Paſſions and Humours of the Princes, or Chief Miniſters, that were for the time at the Head of Affairs. But the *Spaniards* reaſon'd only from

from what they thought the Intereſt of each Country. They knew *Holland* would ſave *Flanders* if they could; and *England* they were ſure could, if they would; and believ'd would be brought to it at laſt by the increaſe of the danger, and force of their own Intereſt, and the humour of the People. In this hope or preſumption they were a great deal flatter'd by their Miniſters then in *England*, *Don Bernard de Salinas*, Envoy from *Spain* and *Fonſeca*, Conſul there, who did indeed very induſtriouſly foment the Heats that began about this time to appear in the Parliament, upon the Apprehenſions of the *French* Conqueſts both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*; which moved them, about the end of *March*, to make an Addreſs to the King, repreſenting the Progreſſes of *France*, and deſiring his Majeſty to put a ſtop to them, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours. *Don Bernard de Salinas* told ſome of the Commons, That the King was very angry at this Addreſs, and had ſaid upon it, That the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues: which made a great noiſe in the Houſe of Commons. The King reſented it as a piece of Malice in *Salinas*, or at leaſt as a deſign to

inflame the House; and thereupon order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain days. Yet about a month after, the Parliament made another Address upon the same occasion, desiring his Majesty to make a League Offensive and Defensive with the States General, for opposing the Progress of the *French* Conquests. This his Majesty received as an Invasion of his Prerogative, made them an angry Answer, and Prorogued the Parliament till the Winter following.

However *France* had so much regard to the Jealousies raised both in *England* and *Holland* of their designing an entire Conquest of *Flanders*, that, after having gained those three important Frontier-Towns so early in the Spring, and dispers'd his Army after that Expedition, that King return'd home, writ to his Majesty, That to shew he had no Intention to conquer *Flanders*, but only to make a General Peace, he was contented notwithstanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at present, to make a General Truce, in case his Allies the *Swedes* would agree to it; which he desir'd his Majesty to inform himself of, since he had not convenience of doing it, for want of liberty of Couriers into *Sweden*.

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The Contents of this Letter was proned by the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, among the ſeveral Miniſters there, till they found it has an effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too groſs an Artifice. It paſſed very ill with Monſieur *Beverning* himſelf, who of all others there, was the moſt paſſionately bent upon the Peace. But he ſaid openly upon this, That the *French* were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of importance, nor ſo much as of amuſement. That *France* had given their Blow, and would now hinder the Allies from giving Theirs. That the reſerve of *Sueden's* Conſent was an eaſy way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies ſhould accept it. That this it ſelf could not be done becauſe *Flanders* would be left ſo open, as to be eaſily ſwallowed up by the next Invaſion, having no Frontier on either ſide. That the Towns now poſſeſſed by *France*, would in the time of a Truce grow abſolutely *French*, and ſo the harder to be reſtored by a Peace or a War. That, for his part, he deſir'd the Peace, contrary to the Politicks of Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, and the other Miniſters of the Allies in *England*; affirming always, that notwithſtanding all

their Intrigues and Intelligences there, He, Monſieur *Beverning*, was aſſur'd, That His Majeſty would not enter into the War, to ſave the laſt Town in *Flanders*. This Confidence made him purſue all the Ways towards a Peace, and by Paces which ſome thought forwarder than his Commiſſion, and very ill concerted with thoſe of his Allies. About the middle of *April*, he brought us the Project of a Treaty of Commerce both for *France* and *Sweden*, and deſir'd we would make the Communication of them; which we did for form, though we knew that thoſe Miniſters had been before poſſeſs'd of them from the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors themſelves. And ſome few Days after, they enter'd into Conferences upon this Project at the *French* Ambaſſadors Houſe, whom they found very eaſie in the Terms the *Dutch* inſiſted on for their Commerce, which was all that could make any Difficulty between them.

1677. About the end of *April*, the Miniſters of the Allies came, and preſented us their ſeveral Anſwers in writing to the *French* Propoſitions, which they offered to leave with us, whenever we ſhould aſ-

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ſure them that the *French* and *Suedes* were ready with theirs. Upon this Communication given to the *French*, they were poſitive to give no Anſwer in writing, nor to receive any, alledging both Reaſon and Example for their Opinion; *this* from the Practice of the *Munſter*-Treaty, *that* from the Danger of the Invective Style or Language that are apt to enter into the Writings of each Party upon ſuch occaſions. The Allies were for ſome time as peremtory in their Reſolution of delivering their Anſwer in writing; but both at laſt agreed upon the Expedient we propoſed, of dictating to us what they intended ſhould be ſaid to the other Party, of our ſetting the Subſtance down in Writing, and reading it over to them firſt who dictated to us, ſo as they might be Judges whether we had rightly apprehended and expreſſed their meaning; and yet the thing might go in our Style, and not in theirs; by which all Sharpneſs and Provocation would be avoided.

About the Middle of *May*, arrived Preſident *Canon*, Envoy from the Duke of *Lorrain*, and put his Maſter's Pretenſions into our Hands; upon which the Allies expected a return of thoſe from

France

France upon that Duke, no room being now left for delaying them from the want of a Miniſter upon the Place; but the *French* ſaid very plainly, it was a matter they were not inſtructed in; which the Allies received with great Stomach, and perpetual Complaints to us the Mediators; all profeſſing, they were reſolved not to proceed in the Treaty, without carrying on the Intereſts of that Duke, an equal pace with their own.

About the end of *May* arriv'd the Pope's *Nuncio*; whereupon the *Swediſh* and *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors reſorted immediately to us, deſiring to know how we intended to carry our ſelves in what regarded that Miniſter; profeſſing themſelves to be much in pain, being of one ſide very much preſſed, the *Suedes* by the *French*, and the *Danes*, by the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards*, to the enterchange at leaſt of common Ceremonies and Civilities, with a Miniſter for whom they all with emulation profeſſed ſo great Reſpect and Deference; On t'other ſide, the *Suedes* and *Danes* pretended neither to have Inſtruction nor Example from their reſpective Courts, to determine them in this matter, but ſaid they were reſolved to obſerve and conſider the ſteps that

that ſhould be made by us. We cut the buſineſs very ſhort, and declar'd to them our Reſolution to have no ſort of Commerce with the Pope's *Nuncio*, either in the Affairs of our Function, or in matters of Ceremony; and told them, our Orders from Court were ſo preciſe in this Point, that they would admit of no Debate. The next day Monſieur *Colbert* and *d'Avaux* came formally to give us part of the *Nuncio*'s Arrival, and of his deſire to make us his firſt Compliments, if he might know they would be received. Our Anſwer to them was the ſame we had made to the *Suedes* and *Danes*; and ſoon after, all the Miniſters of Proteſtant Princes at *Nimeguen*, reſolved to follow our Examples, and to have no commerce at all with the *Nuncio*.

About the ſame time, after many Meſſages carried by us between the Parties, they were perſwaded at laſt into the agreement of delivering and exchanging by our Hands, their Anſwers to each others Propoſitions in writing, tho' without pretending to purſue that Method in the ſucceeding Paces of the Negotiation. Nor was there need of that Caution, for this I take to have been the laſt

last Pace of any free and general Negotiation between the Parties engag'd in the War and in the Treaty; nor were the Answers any thing nearer agreeing than the first Propositions.

The last day of *May* arriv'd the Marquis *de Balhaces*, first Ambassador from *Spain*; and about the same time, my Lord *Berkly* return'd into *England*, where he languished out the rest of the Summer, and died.

About the seventh of *June*, the *Dutch* Ambassadors brought us the Project of a Treaty between them and *France*, digested and extended in all its Forms and Articles; and told us soon after, They had in a Conference upon it with the *French* Ambassadors, agreed in a manner all the Points of it, at least that there remain'd but two which concerned Commerce only, undetermined between them, which they doubted not would be agreed likewise upon return of the *French* Dispatches to Court. That after their Business was ended, they would perform the best Offices they could between their Allies and the *French*; and indeed by the beginning of *July*, all Points were accordingly agreed between the *French* and *Dutch*, and Monsieur

Monſieur *Beverning* began to play the part of ſomething more than a Mediator, preſſing on his Allies towards a Peace, with Paces very earneſt and ſomething rough, and as ſome believed more than he had Order for from his Maſters, who yet pretended to hold Hands with their Allies. But Monſieur *Beverning* profeſſed to believe that their Friends at the *Hague* were impoſed upon by *Van Beuninghen*, and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters at *London*, who ſtill animated them with hopes of the Kings entring into the War, or at leaſt preſcribing a *Plan* of the Peace to be received by all Parties, which *Beverning* believed neither one nor t'other of, and pretended to be morally aſſur'd of his Opinion, and thereupon grounded the abſolute neceſſity of a Peace.

In this month the Duke of *Zell* began to make a difficulty of ſending the five thouſand Men he had promiſed to the Allies, without ſome new Stipulations. And the *French* offered a Guaranty to the Houſe of *Lunenburgh*, of all their Conqueſts on the *Suede* in *Bremen*, upon a Neutrality to be declared by thoſe Dukes, which began to give great Umbrages to the Allies, as well as the *Suedes*,

Suedes, of some separate Measures like to be concluded between *France* and the whole House of *Brunswick*. The *Dutch* Ambassadors were likewise in Pain upon new Intelligence, both from *Vienna* and *Madrid*, about a separate Peace, being treated between *Don John* and the *French*, with an exchange of the *Spanish Netherlands*, for what should be restored them in *Roussillon* and *Sicily*. The Ministers of the Confederates made great Instances in *England*, That His Majesty would recal his Troops that were in the *French* Service; attributing most of their Successes in *Germany*, to the Bravery of those *English* Regiments. But His Majesty excused it upon the Equality of a Mediator, since there were *English* Troops of great Number in the Service of the Allies: Who took this Answer, however, for an ill sign of that prosecution which they hoped from His Majesty for the Releif of their Languishing Affairs. The hopes of those great Actions promised by the Imperialists this Summer on the *Rhine* began to Flat; their Troops finding no Subsistance in those Countries which had been wholly desolated by the *French* in the Beginning of the Year, to prevent their March.

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The Prince of *Orange* obſerving all theſe Circumſtances, and foreſeeiug no *Reſource* for the Intereſts of the Allies, unleſs from His Majeſty; and that it was likely to prove an unactive Summer in *Flanders*, the *French* reſolving not to come to a Battle, and he not able to form a Siege, and oppoſe a *French* Army that ſhould come to relieve it; He ſent Monſieur *Bentinck* over into *England* about the Beginning of *June*, to deſire His Majeſty's leave that he might make a Journey thither ſo ſoon as the Campania ended. He received a Civil Anſwer, but with Wiſhes from the King, That He would firſt think of making the Peace, and rather defer His Journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of *June*, my Son came over to me at *Nimeguen*, and brought me Letters from my Lord Treaſurer to ſignify His Majeſty's Pleaſure, that I ſhould come over and enter upon the Secretary of States Office, which Mr. *Coventry* had offered His Majeſty to lay down upon the payment of ten thouſand Pounds; That the King would pay half the Money, and I muſt lay down the reſt at preſent; tho' his Lordſhip did not doubt but the King would find the way

way of easing me in time of that too. I writ immediately to my Lord Treasurer to make my acknowledgment to his Majesty: but at the same time my Excuses, That I was not in a Condition to lay down such a Sum, my Father being still alive, and keeping the Estate of the Family; and desiring that the King's Intention might at least be respited till he saw how the present Treaty was like to determine. In return of my Letters on the second of *July*, Mr. *Smith*, one of the King's Messengers, being sent Express and making great diligence, arrived at *Nimeguen*, and brought me his Majesty's Commands to repair immediately over in a Yatch which he had sent on purpose for me: in obedience to this Command, I left *Nimeguen*, but without any Ceremony, pretending only a sudden Journey to *England*, but saying nothing of the occasion further than to my nearest Friends.

At my Arrival the King asked me many questions about my Journey, about the Congress, *draping* us for spending him so much Money, and doing nothing; and about Sir *Leoline*; asking me how I had bred him? and how he passed among the Ambassadors there? And other Plea-

Pleaſantries upon that Subject. After a good deal of this kind of Converſation, He told me, I knew for what he had ſent for me over, and that 'twas what he had long intended; and I was not to thank him, becauſe he did not know any body elſe to bring into that place. I told his Majeſty, That was too great a Compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my Country, and which I thought it did not deſerve; That I believed there were a great many in it fit for that, or any other place he had to give; And I could name two in a breath, that I would undertake ſhould make better Secretaries of State than I. The King ſaid, go, get you gone to *Sheen*, we ſhall have no good of you till you have been there; and when you have reſted your ſelf, come up again. I never ſaw him in better humour, nor ever knew a more agreeable converſation when he was ſo; and where he was pleaſed to be familiar, great quickneſs of Conception, great pleaſantneſs of Wit, with great variety of Knowledge, more obſervation and truer Judgment of Men than one would have imagined by ſo careleſs and eaſie a manner as was natural to him in all he ſaid or did: From his own Temper, he deſired nothing but

to be eaſie himſelf, and that every Body elſe ſhould be ſo; and would have been glad to ſee the leaſt of his Subjects pleaſed, and to refuſe no Man what he asked. But this ſoftneſs of Temper made him apt to fall into the Perſwaſions of whoever had his Kindneſs and Confidence for the time, how different ſoever from the Opinions he was of before; and he was very eaſie to change Hands, when thoſe he employed ſeemed to have engaged him in any Difficulties; ſo as nothing look'd ſteddy in the Conduct of his Affairs, nor aim'd at any certain end. Yet ſure no Prince has more Qualities to make him loved, with a great many to make him eſteemed, and all without a grain of Pride or Vanity in his whole Conſtitution; nor can he ſuffer Flattery in any kind, growing uneaſy upon the firſt Approaches of it, and turning it off to ſomething elſe. But this Humour has made him loſe many great Occaſions of Glory to himſelf, and Greatneſs to his Crown, which the Conjunctures of his Reign conſpired to put into his Head, and have made way for the aſpiring Thoughts and Deſigns of a Neighbour Prince, which would not have appeared, or could not have ſucceeded in the World with

without the Applications and Arts imployed to manage this eaſy and inglorious Humour of the King's.

I ſtayed two days at *Sheen*, in which time ſome of Secretary *Coventry's* Friends had prevailed with him not to part with his place if he could help it, unleſs the King would let him recommend the Perſon to ſucceed him, who ſhould pay all the Money he expected, and which the King had charged himſelf with. When I came to Town the King told me in his Cloſet all that had paſſed between him and Mr. *Coventry* the Day before upon this occaſion; That he did not underſtand what he meant, nor what was at the Bottom, for he had firſt ſpoke to his Majeſty about parting with his Place, ſaid his Health would not go through with it, made the Price he expected for it, and concluded all before he had ſent for me over. That now he pretended he did not mean to quit it, unleſs he might preſent one to ſucceed him, and hoped he had not deſerved his Majeſty ſhould turn him out. But the King ſaid upon it, That, under favour, he was reſolved to take him at his word, and ſo he had told him, and left him to digeſt it as he could. Upon this I re-

preſented to the King how old and true a Servant Mr. *Coventry* had been of his Fathers and his, how well he had ſerved him in this Place, how well he was able to do it ſtill by the great credit he had in the Houſe of Commons, where the King's great Buſineſs lay in the ill ſtate of his Revenue; how ill ſuch a treatment would agree with his Majeſty's Nature and Cuſtoms, and for my own part, that it would be a great favour to me to reſpite this change till he ſaw what was like to become of the Treaty or the War; and therefore I begged of him, that he would not force a good Secretary out, and perhaps an ill one in againſt both their Wills, but let Mr. *Coventry* keep it, at leaſt till he ſeemed more willing to part with it. The King ſaid, Well then, he would let it alone for the preſent, but did not doubt in a little time one or other of us would change our mind.

In the mean time, the Deſign of my Journey was known; my Lord *Arlington* and others ſtill asking me when they ſhould give me joy of it? and many making Applications to me for Places in the Office; which made the Court uneaſier to me, and increaſed my known Humour

Humour of loving the Country, and being as much in it as I could. However, when I came to Court, the King fell often into Converſation with me, and often in his Cloſet alone, or with none other preſent beſides the Duke or my Lord Treaſurer, and often both. The Subject of theſe Converſations were uſually the Peace, and the Prince of *Orange*'s Journey into *England*. The King always expreſſed a great deſire for the Firſt, but not at all for the other till that was concluded. He ſaid, his Parliament would never be quiet nor eaſy to him while the War laſted abroad: They had got it into their Heads to draw him into it, whether he would or no. That they pretended Publick Ends, and Dangers from *France*, and there might be Both meant by a great many honeſt men among them; but the Heats and Diſtempers of late had been raiſed by ſome factious Leaders, who thought more of themſelves than of any thing elſe, had a mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unleſs they might have their terms in removing and filling of Places? and he was very loth to be ſo much at their Mercy, as he ſhould be, if he were once engag'd in the War. That beſides he

ſaw the longer it continued, the worſe it would be for the Confederates; more of *Flanders* would be loſt every day; the Conduct of *Spain* muſt certainly ruine all in time; and therefore he would fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they would not do it for themſelves. That if he and the Prince could fall into the Terms of it, he was ſure it might be done: And, after ſeveral Diſcourſes upon this Subject for near a Month, his Majeſty at laſt told me, he had a great mind I ſhould make a ſhort turn to the Prince, and try if I could perſuade him to it; and aſſure him, That after it was agreed, he ſhould be the gladdeſt in the World to ſee him in *England*. The Duke and my Lord Treaſurer both preſs'd me upon the ſame Point; but I told them at a long Conference upon it, how often I had been employ'd upon this Errand to the Prince, how unmovable I had found him, and how ſure I was to find him ſo ſtill, unleſs the King would conſider of another Scheme for the Peace than had been yet propos'd to him, and wherein he might reckon upon more ſafety to *Flanders*, as well as to his own Honour. That I had ſpent all my Shot, and was capable of ſaying no more to

him

him than I had done, in obedience to all the Inſtructions I had receiv'd. That his Anſwers had been poſitive; ſo that ſome of my good Friends at Court pretended they had been my own Thoughts rather than the Princes. That his Majeſty would do well to try another Hand, and he would the better know the Princes Mind, if his Anſwers were the ſame to both; if not, he would at leaſt know how ill I had ſerv'd him. The King ſaid, it was a thing of Confidence between him and the Prince, and muſt be ſo treated, and he knew no Body he had beſides to ſend. I told him if he pleaſed I would name one. He bid me; and I ſaid, Mr. *Hyde* was idle ever ſince his return from *Nimeguen*, had been entred into the Commiſſion of the Mediators there, ſtaid with us a Fortnight or three Weeks, might pretend to return thither to exerciſe the ſame Function in my Abſence, ſince the Commiſſion run to any two of the Number, and might take the Prince of *Orange's* Camp in his way to *Nimeguen*, perform the King's Commands to his Highneſs, inform himſelf of his laſt Reſolution upon the Subject of the Peace, go on to *Nimeguen* without giving any Jealouſy to the Allies, or

without the noiſe that my going would make; ſince Sir. *Leoline* had wrote to Court and to me, that Monſieur *Beverning* had deſired all paces ſhould ſtop there till my return, which he heard would be ſudden, and that the King would ſend by me his own *Plan* of the Peace. The Duke fell in firſt to the Propoſal of Mr. *Hyde*'s going, and, after ſome debate, the King and my Lord Treaſurer, and that it ſhould be as ſoon as was poſſible. He was ſent for accordingly, and diſpatch'd away in all points as I had propoſed. He found the Prince at the Camp, but unmovable in the buſineſs of the Peace, upon the Terms his Majeſty had thoughts of proceeding: gave account of all that paſſed in that Conference to the King, and went ſtraight away to *Nimeguen*, and writ me word of his Converſation with the Prince, and that he never ſaw ſuch a firmneſs in any Man.

I knew Mr. *Hyde's* going to reſide at *Nimeguen*, would be of great comfort and ſupport to Sir *Leoline*, who was in perpetual Agonies (as his word was) after he was left alone in that Station; having ever ſo much diſtruſt of his own Judgment, that tho' he had the moſt great deſire

ſire that could be to do well, yet he many times could not reſolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplexed about the little Punctilio's of Viſit and Ceremony that were left to buſy that Ambaſſy, as if greater Affairs had ſtill attended it. Beſides he lay under the laſh of Secretary *Williamſon*, who upon old Grudges between them at *Colen*, never fail'd to lay hold of any occaſion he could to cenſure his Conduct, and expoſe it at the Forreign Commitee, where his Letters were read to his Majeſty. It happened about this time, that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors firſt appearing in publick upon a new Commiſſion to all Three, gave immediate notice of it to the Imperialiſts, who made their Viſit upon it, and were within two hours reviſited by the *Spaniards*. After which, they ſent their formal Notifications to all the other Ambaſſadors, and to the Mediators in the firſt place. Sir *Leoline* was in pain, having Orders to pretend the firſt Rank of Reſpect before the Imperialiſts, as well as other Ambaſſadors there; and not yield to it, if it came in competition. He had likewiſe another Order, which was, Upon Matters in Ceremony, doubtful, and not admitting the delay of new Orders,

Orders, he ſhould conſult with the other Ambaſſadors, eſpecially *French* and *Swediſh*, who uſed to carry thoſe Points the higheſt, and govern himſelf as well as he could by Preſidents and Examples. He conſulted both theſe Ambaſſadors, Whether he ſhould viſit the *Spaniards*, after having given the firſt notice to the Imperialiſts? And they concluded, That he ſhould firſt know of them, whether it was done in form, as to Ambaſſadors in general; or whether it was upon the account of the near Alliance in Blood between thoſe two Houſes of *Auſtria*? That if it were the firſt, he ought not to viſit them, as having put a diſreſpect upon the Mediation, and diſtinguiſh'd the Emperour from all the other Crown'd Heads, who had yielded the Precedence wholly to them; which they ſhould not have done if the Emperour had refus'd it. But if the *Spaniards* affirmed it was only upon the nearneſs of Blood between them, none of the other Ambaſſadors need take any notice of it, ſince the ſame had been done between thoſe Two Crowns at *Munſter* upon the ſame ſcore; which being there declared, it gave no Offence to the Mediators, tho' they were the Pope's Nuncios, with whom there was

was other wiſe no Competition. Sir *Leoline* was ſatisfied by the *Spaniards* (who gave it him in Writing,) that the Viſits were made only upon the ſcore of Kindred, as at *Munſter*; and thereupon made them His Viſit, and received Theirs; for, which he was ſharply reprov'd by Secretary *Williamſon*'s Letter upon it, who had repreſented it to the King as a Diſobedience to a poſitive Order, and giving up the Point to the Imperialiſts. But being at Court ſoon after theſe Diſpatches, I endeavoured to juſtify my Colleague's Intentions and his Proceedings, by ſhewing that he had conform'd to his other Orders of conſulting the other Ambaſſadors, and proceeding according to the beſt Precedent, which was that at *Munſter*; and that if he had broken with the *Spaniards* upon this Point, he would have provok'd the Imperialiſts to declare their Reſolution of not yielding to the Mediators, upon which the other Ambaſſadors would recall the Conceſſion which they had already made in this Point, and ſo hazard, if not loſe, the Poſſeſſion his Majeſty was in, of the firſt Reſpect given to his Mediation. I had the good fortune to ſatisfy his Majeſty and His Miniſters, and to obtain Orders for

for his gracious pardon to be ſent Sir *Leoline* (for they would ſuffer it to run in no other Terms;) for which however the poor Gentleman made as great Acknowledgments, as if his Fault had been much greater and worſe meant.

The reſt of this Summer paſſed without any further Paces made in the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*, where the Meſſages carried and return'd about the Buſineſs of *Lorrain*, ſerved to keep the Mediators in Countenance, and no more. The whole Body of Allies preſſed for an Anſwer from the *French* to that Duke's Pretenſions, delivered in by Preſident *Canon*. The *French* after their former Exception, of his Wanting a Miniſter there, raiſed another to ſtave off theſe Inſtances of the Allies, and declare they could give no Anſwer about *Lorrain*, till the Biſhop of *Strasburgh's* Agents were received by the Allies; upon which the Emperor made an invincible Difficulty, declaring he would never treat with a Vaſſal of his own: And in theſe Conferences about *Lorrain*, the *French* Ambaſſadors began to inſinuate to the Mediators, that their Maſter never intended That to be treated as a Principal, but only as an Acceſſary to the Treaty.

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In *Auguſt* arrived at *Nimeguen*, the Biſhop of *Gurck*, chief of the Imperial Ambaſſy, and Count *Antoine* of that from *Denmark*: The firſt was immediately viſited by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, and returned them; after which he ſent his Notifications to the Mediators, and from them to the other Ambaſſadors; upon which no difficulty was made by them, ſince the Biſhop made the ſame Declaration the *Spaniards* had done before upon the like occaſion. That the firſt Viſits paſſing between the Miniſters of the two Houſes of *Auſtria*, were Viſits of Kindneſs and Conſaguinity, and not of Ceremony. But Count *Antoine* fell into endleſs difficulties upon his firſt arrival. He intended to have ſent his firſt Notification to the Mediators, as others had done; but the Imperialiſts having notice of this Intention, ſent him direct word, they expected the firſt Reſpect ſhould be given the Emperor; and this was the firſt time they owned that Pretenſion, in prejudice of the Honour hitherto done to the King's Mediation. Count *Antoine* ſent Monſieur *Hoeg*, his Colleague, to acquaint the Mediators with this Incident, and deſire them to find out ſome Expedient: they excuſed them-

themſelves, alledging their poſitive Orders to expect the firſt Notification. The *Danes* were as unwilling to diſoblige his Majeſty, as the Emperor, and found no Temper in this matter, after many offered both by *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors; ſo that Count *Antoine* reſolved to leave it undecided, and to give no Notifications, nor receive or make any Viſits, but however aſſiſted at the Conferences among the Allies, and made a part of all the Evening Entertainments at Play, and in Converſation in the Appartments of the ſeveral Ambaſſadrices. And this courſe he obſerved, during his ſtay at *Nimeguen*, which was ſeven or eight Months; for the reſt a Perſon very much eſteemed for his generous Qualities, and Gentlemanly Humour and Converſation, and yielding to none upon the Place in the Greatneſs and ſplendor of his Equipage, wherein the Marquis *de Balbaces*, and Count *Antoine* ſeemed to diſtinguiſh themſelves from all the reſt.

About the end of *July*, the Prince of *Orange* made an Attempt upon *Charleroy*, rather than a Siege. This had been before concerted with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who made a meen of entring into *Champagne*

pagne, on purpoſe to draw off the *French* Forces from attending the Prince's Motions and Deſigns upon *Charleroy*. The Prince had hopes to take it by ſurprize; but found them of the Garriſon upon their Guard, and very ſtrong, as well as the Place which had been fortified with all the force of Art and Expence, which could be employed upon a Place of that compaſs. He ſat down before it, and would have beſieged it in form, if the Duke of *Lorrain* could have diverted the *French* Army from relieving it; but Monſieur *Louvois* with great diligence, leaving the Marſhal *Crequi* with force enough to face that Duke, aſſembled a very great Army for the relief of *Charleroy*, upon approach whereof, the Prince called a Council of War to reſolve whether to march and fight the *French* Army, or raiſe the Siege. The laſt was reſolved, upon debate at the Council, and accordingly executed, and therewith ended this Campania in *Flanders*. But this March and retreat of the Prince paſſed not without many Reflections, not only among the Allies, but in *Holland* too, as if he had given over the Deſign upon ſome Intelligences and Expreſſes between him and the King

King about this time. Monſieur *Bentinck* had gone over and returned, without any Bodies knowing his Buſineſs. My Lord *Oſſory* happened to arrive in the Camp the Day before the Councel of War, upon which the Siege was raiſed, which made many think ſomething his Lordſhip brought from *England* was the occaſion of it: But I could never find there was any thing more in his Journey than the hopes of ſeeing a Battel (which was ever a particular Inclination of my Lord *Oſſory*) and a caſt of my Lord *Arlington* to preſerve himſelf in the Prince's Favour and Confidence as much as he could, by my Lord *Oſſory's* keeping cloſe to him, at a time when he ſaw the buſineſs of *Chriſtendom* roll ſo much upon the Perſon of this Prince.

About this time, the Aſſembly at *Nimeguen* ſeem'd in Danger of being broken by a paſſionate motion the *Suedes* made in it. There had been a long Conteſt ſince it firſt began between the *Suedes* and *Danes*, about freedom of Paſſage for the *Suediſh* Courriers through the *Daniſh* Territories, for managing the Correſpondencies neceſſary with their Court. The *Danes* pretended the Example of *France*, who refus'd the ſame Liberty

berty to the *Spaniards*. This Diſpute had been managed by many Meſſages, wherewith the Mediators had been charged between the Parties, wherein the Allies of both Sides took equal part. Sometimes the matter had been treated with very preſſing Inſtances, and ſometimes with Fainter; ſometimes almoſt let fall, and then again reſumed; and thus for above a Year paſt: but about this time the *Suedes* came to the Mediators, deſire their Offices once more to the *Danes* upon this Subject, and declare, That without this Liberty inſiſted upon ſo long for their Couriers, they find themſelves incapable of giving advices neceſſary to their Court, or receiving Orders neceſſary from it; and that without it, they muſt be forced to leave the Aſſembly. This Reſolution of the *Suedes* continued for ſome time ſo Peremptory, that it was expected to come to that iſſue; but after ſome *Foogue* ſpent for about a Fortnight or three Weeks upon this occaſion, and ſome Temperament found out by the *Dutch* for the ſecure and ſpeedy paſſage of all the *Suediſh* Diſpatches from *Amſterdam*, thoſe Ambaſſadors began to grow ſoft and calm again, and to go on their uſual Pace.

Soon after, the *French* Ambaſſadors, who had treated the *Swediſh* Affairs and Miniſters with great indifferency and neglect in this Treaty, (declaring to Monſieur *Beverning*, their Maſter would not part with one Town in *Flanders*, to reſtore the *Suedes* to all they had loſt) began wholly to change their Language, and ſay upon all occaſions, That *France* could not make a Peace without the full ſatisfaction and reſtitution of the *Suedes*; and it was diſcourſed, that the *French* and *Suedes* had entred into a new Alliance at *Paris* to this purpoſe, and ſome believed, it was by concert between them, that this *Atteinte* was given by the *Suedes* to the Congreſs. That the *French* had at that time a mind to break it, and to enter into a Treaty with *Spain* under the Pope's direction, and at *Rome*, not knowing to what meaſures his Majeſty might be induced upon the Progreſs of the *French* Conqueſts, and the Diſtempers raiſed in his Parliament upon that occaſion. But this Guſt blown over, all was becalmed at *Nimeguen*; ſo that Monſieur *Olivecrantz* left that Place about the end of *Auguſt*, upon a Journey to *Sueden*.

Till this time the Motions of Buſineſs had

had been reſpited in the Aſſembly upon a general expectation that the King was ſending me over ſuddenly with the *Plan* of a Peace, that he reſolved ſhould be made, and to which it was not doubted but all Parties would yield, whatever it was; ſo great Regard was held on all ſides, of his Majeſty's Will and Power, But a greater ſtop was yet given to all further Paces there, by the Prince of *Orange*'s Journey into *England*, about the end of *September* 1677, which wholly changed the Scene of this Treaty, and for the preſent carried it over to *London*, and left all other places at a gaze only, and in expectation of what ſhould be there Agitated and Concluded.

CHAP. III.

THE Prince like a haſty Lover, came Poſt from *Harwich* to *Newmarket*, where the Court then was, as a Seaſon and Place of Country Sports. My Lord *Arlington* attended his Highneſs at his alighting, making his Pretence of the chief Confidence with him; and the Court expected it upon his Alliance and Journeys into *Holland*. My Lord Treaſurer and I went together to wait on him, but met him upon the middle of the Stairs, in a great Crowd, coming down to the King. He whiſpered to us both together, and ſaid to me, That he muſt deſire me to anſwer for him and my Lord Treaſurer one to another, ſo as they might from that time enter both into Buſineſs and converſation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance; which was a wiſe Strain, conſidering his Lordſhip's Credit in Court at that time, and was of great uſe to the Prince in the Courſe of his Affairs then in *England*; and tho' it much ſhockt my Lord *Arlington* and his Friends, yet it could not be wondred at by ſuch as knew

knew what had paſſed of late, between the Prince and him, with whom he only lived in common forms, during his ſtay there. He was very kindly received by the King and the Duke, who both invited him often into Diſcourſes of Buſineſs, which they wondred to ſee him avoid or divert induſtriouſly, ſo as the King bid me find out the reaſon of it. The *Prince* told me he was reſolved to ſee the Young *Princeſs* before he entred into that Affair; and yet to proceed in that, before the other of the *Peace*. The King laughed at this piece of Nicety when I told it him. But however to humour him in it, ſaid, he would go ſome days ſooner than he had intended from *New-market*, which was accordingly done.

The *Prince* upon his arrival in Town, and ſight of the *Princeſs*, was ſo pleaſed with her *Perſon*, and all thoſe ſigns of ſuch a humour as had been deſcribed to him upon former enquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke, which was very well received and aſſented to, but with this Condition, That the terms of a *Peace* abroad might be firſt agreed on between them. The *Prince* excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he muſt end his firſt buſineſs before he began the

other. The King and Duke were both positive in their opinion, and the Prince resolute in his; and said at last, That his Allies, who were like to have hard terms of the Peace as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their cost, and for his part he would never sell his Honour for a Wife. This prevail'd not, but the King continued so positive for three or four days, that my Lord Treasurer and I began to doubt the whole business would break upon this Punctilio. About that time I chanced to go to the Prince after Supper, and found him in the worst humour that I ever saw him: he told me he repented he had ever come into *England*, and resolved he would stay but two days longer, and then be gone, if the King continued in his mind of treating upon the Peace before he was married; but that before he went the King must chuse how they should live hereafter, for he was sure it must be either like the greatest Friends, or the greatest Enemies, and desired me to let his Majesty know so next Morning, and give him an account of what he should say upon it. I did so early in the Morning, told the King all the Prince had said to me the Night before

and

and the ill conſequences of a breach between them, conſidering the ill Humour of ſo many of his Subjects upon our late meaſures with *France*, and the Invitations made the Prince by ſeveral of them, during the late War. The King heard me with great attention; and when I had done, ſaid, well, I never yet was deceived in judging of a Man's Honeſty by his looks, (of which he gave me ſome examples) and if I am not deceived in the Princes Face, he is the honeſteſt Man in the World, and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that 'tis a thing I am reſolved on. I did ſo, and the Duke at firſt ſeemed a little ſurprized; but when I had done, He ſaid, The King ſhall be obeyed, and I would be glad all his Subjects would learn of me to obey him. I do tell him my Opinion very freely upon any thing; but when that is done, and I know his Pleaſure upon it, I obey him. From the Duke I went to the Prince, and told him my Story, which he could at firſt hardly believe, but embraced me, and ſaid, I had made him a very happy Man, and very unexpectedly; and ſo I left him to give the King

an account of what had paſſed, and in the *Princes*'s Anti-chamber met my Lord Treaſurer, and told him the Story, who undertook to adjuſt all the reſt between the King and the Prince; which he did ſo well, that the *Match* was declared that Evening at the Commitee, before any other in Court knew any thing of it; and next day it was declared in Council, and received there and every where elſe in the Kingdom with the moſt univerſal joy that I ever ſaw any thing in the King's Reign. The *French* Ambaſſador and my Lord *Alington* appeared the only two Perſons unſatisfied upon it at Court; the firſt not knowing how he ſhould anſwer it to his Maſter, That an Affair of that importance ſhould paſs without his Communication, much leſs Advice, in a Court where nothing before had done ſo for many Years; and my Lord *Arlington*, that it ſhould paſs without his knowledge, who ſtill endeavour'd to keep up the Court opinion of his Confidence with the Prince; who told me the Compliment his Lordſhip had made him upon it, that ſome things good in themſelves were ſpoiled by the manner of doing them, as ſome things bad were mended by it: But he would con-

confeſs this was a thing ſo good in it ſelf, that the manner of doing it, could not ſpoil it.

Within two or three days the *Marriage* was conſummated, and immediately after they fell into the debates upon the Terms of the *Peace*; to which, as to that of the *Match*, none but my Lord Treaſurer and I were admitted. The *Prince* inſiſted hard upon the Strength and Enlargement of a Frontier on both ſides of *Flanders*, without which *France*, he ſaid, would end his War with the View of beginning another, and carrying *Flanders* in one Campania. The King was content to leave that buſineſs a little looſer upon the confidence that *France* was ſo weary of this War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign; That the King grew paſt his Youth, and lazy, and would turn to the pleaſures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in quiet. The *Prince* thought *France* would not make a *Peace* now, but to break the preſent Confederacy, and to begin another War with more advantage and ſurprize; That their ambition would never end till they had all *Flanders* and *Germany*

many to the *Rhine*, and thereby *Holland* in an abſolute dependance upon them, which would leave Them in an ill condition, and us in no good one; And that *Chriſtendom* could not be left ſafe by the Peace, without ſuch a Frontier as he propoſed for *Flanders*, and the reſtitution of *Lorrain*, as well as what the Emperour had loſt in *Alſatia*. Upon this I told the King, That in the Courſe of my Life, I had never obſerved Mens Natures to alter by Age or Fortunes: but that a good Boy made a good man; and a young Coxcomb, an old Fool; and a young *Fripon*, an old Knave; and that quiet Spirits were *ſo*, young as well as old, and unquiet ones would be ſo old as well as young; That I believed the King of *France* would always have ſome bent or other, ſometimes War, ſometimes Loves, ſometimes Building; but that I was of the Princes Opinion, That he would ever make Peace with a deſign of a new War, after he had fixed his Conqueſt by the laſt; and the King approved what I ſaid. The Points of *Lorrain* and *Alſatia* were eaſily agreed to by the King and Duke, but they would not hear of the County of *Burgundy*, as what *France* could never be brought to,

to, tho' the Prince inſiſted much upon it; ſo as the King imagined he was touched by the Intereſt of his own Lands in that Country (which are greater and more *Seigneurial* than thoſe of the Crown of *Spain* there) and thereupon told him, That for his Lands he would charge himſelf with either his enjoying them as ſafely under *France* as *Spain*, or if he ſhould rather chuſe to part with them than have that dependance, he would undertake to get him what price he ſhould himſelf value them at. But the Prince anſwered briskly and generouſly, That he ſhould not trouble himſelf nor the *Peace* about that matter, and that he would be content to loſe all his Lands there, to get one good Town more for the *Spaniards* upon the Frontier of *Flanders*; ſo all difficulties began to terminate upon what was eſteemed neceſſary there. This admitted great debates between the King and Prince; one pretending *France* would never be brought to one Scheme; and t'other, that *Spain* would never conſent to the other. But at laſt it was agreed, That the *Peace* ſhould be made upon theſe terms, All to be reſtored by *France* to the Empire and Emperour that had been taken in

in the War; the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to that Duke, and all on both ſides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, St. *Gillain*, and *Binch*. That the Prince ſhould endeavour to procure the Conſent of *Spain*, and his Majeſty that of *France*; for which purpoſe he ſhould ſend ſome perſon immediately over with the Propoſition, who ſhould be inſtructed to enter into no Reaſonings upon it, but demand a poſitive Anſwer in two days, and after that term immediately return. The Queſtion was, who ſhould go? and my Lord Treaſurer ſaid, it muſt be he or I, for none elſe had been acquainted with the debate of this buſineſs. The Prince ſaid, it muſt be I, for my Lord Treaſurer could not be ſpared, and it muſt be ſome perſon upon whoſe Judgment and Truth he could rely, as to the Intentions of that Court. The King ordered me to be ready in two days, which I was; and the Evening before I was to go, meeting his Majeſty in the *Park*, he called me to him, and, a little out of Countenance, told me, he had been thinking of my Journey and my Errand, and how unwelcome I ſhould be

be in *France*, as well as my Meſſage; and having a mind to gain the Peace, he was unwilling to anger them more than needs. Beſides the thing being not to be reaſoned or debated, any body elſe would ſerve the turn as well as I, whom he had other uſe of; and therefore he had been thinking to ſend ſome other Perſon. I ſaw he doubted I would take it ill, but told him, and very truly, he would do me the greateſt Pleaſure in the World; for I never had leſs mind to any Journey in my Life, and ſhould not have accepted it, but in perfect Obedience. The King that was the gentleſt Prince in the World of his own Nature, fell into good Humour upon ſeeing I took it not ill, pretended to think whom he ſhould ſend, and at laſt asked me, what I thought of my Lord *Duras*? I ſaid, very well; upon which he ſeem'd to reſolve it. But the thing had been agreed in the morning as I was told, upon the Duke's deſire, who thought *France* would accept the Terms, and that the Peace would be made, and had a mind to have the Honour of it by ſending a Servant of his own. Whether there were any other Motive, I knew not; but my Lord

Duras

Duras went immediately with the Orders before mentioned, and some few days after the Prince and Princess embarqued for *Holland*, where Affairs pressed his return beyond the hopes of my Lord *Duras* from *France*; the King assuring him he would never part from the least point of the Scheme sent over, and would enter into the War against *France*, if they refus'd it. However he went not away without a great mortification, to see the Parliament Prorogued to next Spring; which the *French* Ambassador had gain'd of the King, to make up some good Meen with *France* after the Prince's Marriage, and before the dispatch of the Terms of a *Peace* to that Court.

Upon my Lord *Duras*'s arrival at *Paris*, the Court there were surprized both at the thing, and more at the manner; but made good Meen upon it, took it gently, said, The King knew very well he might always be Master of the *Peace*; but some of the Towns in *Flanders* seemed very hard, specially *Tournay*, upon whose Fortifications such vast Treasures had been expended; and that they would take some short time to consider of the Answer. My Lord *Duras* told them, he was ty'd to two days stay; but when that

that was out, he was prevail'd with to ſtay ſome few days longer, and to come away without a poſitive Anſwer: What he brought, was that they had ſaid to him before, That the moſt Chriſtian King hoped his Brother would not break with him upon one or two Towns: but even upon them too he would ſend Orders to his Ambaſſador at *London* to treat with his Majeſty himſelf. By this gain of time, and artificial drawing it into Treaty without any poſitive refuſal, this blow came to be eluded, which could not eaſily have been ſo any other way. The King was ſoftened by the ſoftneſs of *France*. The Ambaſſador ſaid at laſt, he had leave to yield all but *Tournay*, and to treat even for ſome equivolent for that too if the King inſiſted abſolutely upon it. The Prince was gone, who had ſpirited the vigour of the whole Reſolution, and the Treaty of it began to draw out into Meſſages and Returns from *France*.

However, the ill Humour of People growing higher upon the noiſe of a Peace, and negotiated in *France*, and the late Prorogation of Parliament, this was by Proclamation anticipated ſoon after my Lord *Duras*'s return, tho' a thing ſomething unuſual, and a countenance made

made as if the King resolv'd to enter into the War; for which the Parliament seem'd impatient, whenever the King seem'd averse to it; but grew jealous of some tricks whenever the Court seem'd inclin'd to it. About the end of *December* 1677, the King sent for me to the Foreign Commitee, and told me, he could get no positive Answer from *France*, and therefore resolv'd to send me into *Holland*, to make a League there with the States, for forcing both *France* and *Spain*, if either refus'd to make the Peace upon the Terms he had proposed. I told the King, what he had agreed, was to enter into the War, with all the Confederates, in case of no direct and immediate Answer from *France*. That this, perhaps, would satisfie both the Prince and Confederates abroad, and the People at home: But to make such a League with *Holland* only, would satisfie none of them, and disoblige both *France* and *Spain*. Besides, it would not have an effect or Force as the Tripple-Alliance had, being a great Original, of which this seem'd but an ill Copy; and therefore excus'd my self from going. The King was set upon it, tho' I pretended Domestick Affairs of great importance upon the

the Death of my Father, and pleaded ſo hard, that the Duke at laſt deſir'd the King not to preſs me upon a thing I was ſo averſe from, and would be ſo inconvenient to me; and deſired I might propoſe who ſhould be ſent with the Treaty. I made my acknowledgments to the Duke for his favour, and propos'd, that Mr. *Thinn* ſhould be ſent from the Office with a Draught of the Treaty to Mr. *Hyde*, who was then come from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague* upon a Viſit to the Princeſs. This was done, and the Treaty ſign'd there on the Sixteenth of *January*, tho not without great difficulties and diſſatisfaction of the Prince, who was yet covered in it by the Private conſent of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter there, in behalf of his Maſter; ſo as the War could not break but upon *France*, in caſe of their refuſal.

In the mean time, *France* draws out the Treaty upon the Terms at *London* into length, never raiſing more than one difficulty at a time, and expoſtulating the unkindneſs of breaking for the ſingle Town of *Tournay*, tho that was indeed more important than any Three of the others, being the only ſtrong one to guard that ſide of the Frontier, and

giving way for any ſudden Invaſion upon *Gant* and *Antwerp*, and the very heart of the Country. But while this Game was playing in *England*, they had another on foot in *Holland*, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*, by raiſing Jealouſies of the Meaſures taken between the King and Prince upon the Marriage, as dangerous to the Liberties of *Holland*, and making it there believed, That by the Match, the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince wholly into their Intereſts or Sentiments; whereas the Prince went away poſſeſſed to have by it drawn them indeed into his. They propos'd to the *Dutch* other Terms of the Peace, far ſhort of the King's, and leſs ſafe for *Flanders*: reſtoring only ſix Towns to the *Spaniards*, and mentioning *Lorrain* but ambiguouſly; which would not have gone down in *Holland*, but for the ſuſpicions raiſed by the Prince's Marriage, among the People there, who had an incurable Jealouſie of our Court, and thereupon not that Confidence of the Prince that he deſerved.

There were two ruling *Burgomaſters* at *Amſterdam* at this time, who had the whole ſway of that Town (as this has a great one in *Holland*) *Hoeft* and *Valkeneer*;

mer; the first a Generous, Honest Man, of great Patrimonial Riches, Learning, Wit, Humour, without Ambition, having always refused all Imployments the State had offered him, and serving only in that of *Burgomaster* of his Town in his turn, and as little busie in it as he could; a true Genius, and that said two things to me in Conversation, I had not heard before; one, That a man that were to die to morrow in Torment, would yet enjoy to day, if he were *Sain*; and that it was some disease or decay of Spirits that hindred it. The other, That a Man was a *Coyon*, that desired to live after Threescore; and that for his part, after that Age, which he was then approaching, he should be glad of the first good occasion to die; and this he made good, dying with neglect upon a fit of the the Gout, talking with his Friends till he was just spent, then sending them away that he might not die in their sight; and when he found himself come a little again, sending for them up, and telling them; *Qu'il y avoit encore pour une demy heure de Conversation.* This was the Character of Monsieur *Hoeft*, who was a great Intimate of mine, tho' he pas-

Of a sound mind.

A sorry Wight.

That he had still Life for one half hour of Conversation.

sed for a humourous Man; and told me, I was the only Ambassador he had ever visited in his life: He had all the Credit that could be in this Town, without seeking, or minding, or using it; whereas *Valkeener* sought and courted it all that could be, without having half the others; being a Moroe and Formal Man, but of great Industry, much Thought, and as was believed, Avarice; and making the turns easily, that were necessary in the Government, to carry his ends. These two had long been Enemies, and thought irreconcilable, till the *French* Instruments at this time with great Art and Industry made up the Quarrel, and joined them both in the design of making the Peace upon the Terms offered by *France*.

The Parliament meets in *January* by Anticipation of that Session which seemed to import some thing of great Consequence: The King acquaints them with the League he had made in *Holland*, and asks them Money upon it for putting himself in a Posture to carry on the War if the Peace failed; which the Parliament gave him, upon the hopes of the War, and not of the Peace. The Constitution of this Parliament, that had

had ſat ſeventeen Years, was grown into two known Factions, which were called, That of Court and Country; the Court Party were grown numerous, by a Practice introduced by my Lord *Clifford*, of downright buying *off* one Man after another, as they could make the bargain. The Country Party was ſomething greater yet in number, and kept in more Credit upon the Corruption of others, and their own pretence of ſteadineſs to the true Intereſts of the Nation, eſpecially in the Points of *France* and *Popery*; where theſe came in queſtion, many of the Court Party voted with thoſe of the Country, who then carried all before them; but whenever the Court ſeemed to fall in with the true Intereſts of the Nation, eſpecially in thoſe two Points, then many of the Country Party meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carried the Votes as they now did upon the King's Pretence to grow bold with *France*, and to reſolve upon the War, if the Peace were refuſed.

In *October*, *Friburgh* had been taken by a *feinte* of the Duke of *Crequi*'s, before the Duke of *Lorrain* could come to relieve it; and in the ſame Month *Stettin* had been taken by the Elector of *Brandenburgh*,

denburgh, after a vigorous Reſiſtance, which left the Scales as even as they were before between the two Leagues.

In *January*, upon the delays of *France* to agree the King's Conditions of a Peace, his Majeſty entred into a Negotiation with the Miniſters of the Confederates at *London*, in caſe *France* went on to refuſe them; but the hopes of a Peace was on a ſudden daſht by the *French* Attempts upon *Ypre*, and threats of *Oſtend*, where the King immediately ſends Forces over, at the deſire of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, for ſecurity of that important Place; nor did the *French* Ambaſſador ſeem to reſent at all this Pace of his Majeſty, but continued his Court and Treaty with all the fairneſs that could be.

Towards the end of *February*, the King of *France* marching in the Head of his Army, and carrying the Queen and Ladies to *Mentz*, ſeemed to threaten *Lutzenburgh*, or *Namur*, or *Mons*; but having drawn the *Spaniſh* Forces that way, on a ſudden croſſes the Country, ſits down before *Gant*, and by the end of the Month takes both that Town and *Ypre*, and thereby gives a mighty Alarm to *Holland* and ſtrengthens the Credit and En-

Endeavours of thoſe he had already diſpoſed to his Terms of a Peace, as grown now abſolutely neceſſary; while *England* ſeemed reſolved to go into the War, or at leaſt furniſh'd the Confederates with many ſuch hopes. About the firſt of *April*, *France* made a Publick declaration of the Terms upon which they were reſolved to make the Peace; which tho very different from thoſe agreed between his Majeſty and *Holland*, and more from the pretenſions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been firſt privately agreed with ſome Leaders of the Principal Towns, proved indeed the *Plan* of the Peace both for *Holland* and all the other Confederates engaged in the War. And here the *French* began that imperious way of Treating, which they afterwards purſued in the whole Negotiation of the enſuing Peace, declaring ſuch and ſuch was the Conditions they would admit and no other; and upon which their Enemies might chuſe either Peace or War as they pleaſed; and to which *France* pretended not to be tied longer than to the Tenth of *May*, after which they would be at liberty to change, or reſtrain them as they ſhould think fit.

About this time, I happened to be with my Lord Treasurer one Evening in his Closet, when a Packet came to him from Mr. *Montague* Emdassador at *Paris*, giving him an account of a Large Conference Monsieur *Louvoy* had lately had with him, by the King his Master's Order, wherein he represented the Measures they had already taken for a Peace in *Holland* upon the *French* Terms; That since they were agreed there, they hoped his Majesty would not be against it; That however, *France* had ordered him to make his Majesty the offer of a great Sum of Money for his Consent, tho' to a thing already accepted by *Holland*, and wherein his Majesty was consequently not concer..ed. That Monsieur *Louvoy* desired the Ambassador to write this immediately to the Lord Treasurer, and to offer him a very considerable Sum for himself, that should be sent over in Money, Jewels, or by Bills, as he should chuse; and Mr. *Montague* added, That it was desired this Affair should be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State. My Lord Treasurer read the Letter to me, and I said, Well my Lord, What do you say to the Offer? He Answered,

ſwered, That he thought 'twas the ſame thing as if it ſhould be made to the King to have *Windſor* put into the *French* hands, and ſo he ſhould treat it; and that we had nothing to do but to go on with our Treaty with the Confederates. This his Lordſhip and I were incharged with, and had brought near a concluſion, when Letters came from Mr. *Hyde*, with Repreſentions made him from the Penſioner at the *Hague*, of the Diſpoſitions in *Holland* running violently into a Peace, and the abſolute neceſſity he thought there was of concluding it, upon the taking of *Gant*, and danger of *Antwerp*, which was then threatned, and the loſs whereof would be ſo fatal to the Trade of *Holland*, eſpecially *Amſterdam*. Hereupon Mr. *Godolphin* was diſpatched immediately into *Holland*, to bring the laſt and ſureſt Account he could get of the reſolutions there upon this Affair, and return with the greateſt ſpeed he could; he did ſo, and brought the ſame account of all diſpoſitions which Mr. *Hyde* had given, and in the proceſs of our Treaty with the Confederates, Monſieur *Van Beuningham*, when he came to the point, was forced to confeſs, That he had no Powers

to

to conclude, without first communicating to the States, which must draw into length and uncertainty.

About this time the *French* Ambassador began to change his Language, who had ever before pretended, That his Majesty should be always Arbiter of the Peace; but now assuring that his Master had agreed with *Holland*, he seemed to wonder and expostulate why the King should pretend to obtain better Terms for the *Spaniards*, than their Allies the *Dutch* were content with.

I was then pressed by the King and Lord Treasurer to go into *Holland* to know their final resolutions, whether they would yet go on with the War, in case his Majesty should go into it? But I excused my self, knowing the *Dutch* were too much prest by so near approaches of *France*, to declare themselves upon a Reserve of the King's; and said, if his Majesty resolved to go that way, he must first take his measures with the Parliament for the War, and then send them word in *Holland*, he was ready to declare it in case they would pursue it; and upon this Message, I knew the *Dutch* so well as to believe they would do it, and keep close to their late

late Alliance with his Majesty. This the King was unwilling to do, but posted Mr. *Godolphin* again into *Holland* about the middle of *April*, to know their final resolutions; and Prorogued the Parliament for Fourteen Days.

During these Negotiations, and since the Money given by the Parliament, and in six Weeks time the King had raised an Army of about Twenty thousand Men, the compleatest, and in all appearance the bravest Troops that could be any where seen, and might have raised many more upon so great a concurrence of the Peoples humour with his Majesty's seeming design of entring into a War against *France*; and it was confest by all the Foreign Ministers, That no King in *Christendom* could have made and compleated such a Levy as this appeared, in such a time.

My Lord Treasurer upon the Twentieth came to me, and assured me of the King's resolution, being at length fixed to go into the War, and desired me to prepare what the King was to say to the Parliament upon this occasion, which I did; When I carried it to my Lord Treasurer, I met *there* Letters from Mr. *Hyde* and *Godolphin* That

That *Holland* abſolutely deſir'd the Peace, even upon the Terms propoſed by *France*, and had reſolv'd to ſend Monſieur *Van Lewen* over hither, to diſpoſe the King to be contented with them. He arriv'd, and the King ſent me immediately to him, to know his Errand. He was the Chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had joyn'd with *Amſterdam*, *Harlem*, *Delf*, and ſome others, in promoting the Peace, even upon the *French* Conditions: But being a Man of Great Honour and worth, and having done it upon the ſuſpicion that *England* was ſtill at bottom *in* with *France*, and that all the reſt was but *Grimace*; the Prince had procured him to be ſent over on purpoſe to ſatisfie himſelf (and thereby his Complices for the Peace) that the King's intentions were determined to enter into the War which his Highneſs thought the only means to prevent the Peace.

When I came to Monſieur *Van Lewen*, he told me freely, That it was the moſt againſt their hearts in *Holland* that could be, to make a Peace upon Terms ſo low and unſafe for *Flanders*; and that if the King had gone into the War, as was promiſed, upon *France* delaying of refuſing to accept his Scheme, they would certainly

tainly have continued it: but his Majeſty's proceedings look'd ever ſince, ſo uncertain or unreſolv'd, that it had raiſed Jealouſies in *Holland* of our Meaſures being at bottom fix'd and cloſe with *France:* which made moſt of the Towns in *Holland* think they had nothing elſe left to do, but to go *in* with them too as faſt as they could; and the approach of the *French* Army to *Antwerp* left them now no time to deliberate: Yet he profeſſed to me in private, that if the King would immediately declare the War, he believed the States would ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their Alliance, and the Terms therein contained.

I made this Report to the King, who ſeem'd poſitive to declare the War, in caſe the Parliament adviſ'd him, and promiſ'd to ſupport it; when an unlucky peeviſh Vote, mov'd by Sir, *T* —— *C* — in ſpite to my Lord Treaſurers, paſſed the Houſe of Commons, *That no Money ſhould be given, till ſatisfaction was received in matters of Religion.* This left all ſo looſe and ſo lame, that the King was in a rage, reproach'd me with my *Popular Notions*, as he term'd them, and ask'd me me when or how I thought he could truſt the Houſe of Commons to carry

carry him through the War, if he ſhould engage in it? And I had not much indeed to ſay, conſidering the Temper and Factions of the Houſe; nor could I well clear it to my ſelf, by my Obſervation, whether the King was firmly reſolved to enter into the War; or if he did, whether the Houſe of Commons would have ſupported him in it, or turned it only to ruin the Miniſters by the King's Neceſſities. 'Tis certain, no Vote could ever have paſſed more unhappily, nor in ſuch a Counter Seaſon, nor more croſs to the humour of the Houſe, which ſeem'd generally bent upon engaging his Majeſty in the War; and the Perſon that moved it was, I believe, himſelf as much of that mind as any of the reſt; but having ſince the loſs of his Employment at Court, ever acted a Part of great animoſity in oppoſition to the preſent Miniſtry, in whoſe hands ſoever it was; This private ill humour carried him contrary to his Publick intentions, as he did many more in the Houſe, who pretended to be very willing to ſupply the King upon occaſion of the War, or even of his debts, but that they would not do it during my Lord Treaſurer's Miniſtry. In ſhort, there was ſuch a fatal and mutual diſtruſt both in the Court

Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any ſound Meaſures between them. The King at leaſt now ſaw he had loſt his time of entring into the War if he had a mind to it; and that he ought to have done it (upon my Lord *Duras*'s return, and) with the whole Confederacy. And my Lord *Eſſex* told me, I had been a Prophet, in refuſing to go into *Holland* to make that Alliance, which had, as I ſaid, pleaſed none at home or abroad, and had now loſt all Our meaſures in *Holland*, and turn'd theirs upon *France*.

But the turn that the King gave all this, was, That ſince the *Dutch* would have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and *France* offered Money for his Conſent, to what he could not help, he did not know why he ſhould not get the Money; and thereupon ordered me to Treat upon it with the *French* Ambaſſador, who had Orders to that Purpoſe. I would have excuſed my ſelf, but he ſaid, I could not help ſeeing him, for he would be with me at my Houſe by Seven next Morning; He accordingly came, and I told him very truly, I had been ill in the night, and could not enter into Buſineſs. The Ambaſſador was much diſappoint-

appointed, and preſſed me all he could, but I defended my ſelf upon my illneſs, till at length he left me without entring upon any thing. When I got up, I went immediately to *Sheen*, Writ to my Lord Treaſurer by my Wife, *May* the Tenth 1678, how much I was unſatisfied with being put upon ſuch a Treaty with the *French* Ambaſſador, that belonged not at all to my Poſt, and which they knew I thought diſhonourable to the King; and thereupon I offered to reſign to His Majeſty, both my Ambaſſy at *Nimeguen*, and my promiſe of Secretary of State's Place, to be diſpoſed by his Majeſty as he pleaſed. My Lord Treaſurer ſent me word, The King forced no Man upon what he had no mind to; but if I reſolved this ſhould be ſaid to him, I muſt do it my ſelf, or by ſome other, for he would not make my Court ſo ill, as to ſay it for me; and ſo it reſted and I continued at *Sheen*, without ſtirring till the King ſent for me.

In the mean time from the beginning of *May*, the ill Humour of the Houſe of Commons, began to break out by ſeveral Diſcourſes and Votes againſt the Miniſters and their Conduct, which increaſed the ill opinion his Majeſty had conceived

ceived of their Intentions in preſſing him to enter upon a War, yet notwithſtanding all this he had (as I was told by a good hand) conceived ſuch an Indignation at one Article of the private Treaty propoſed by Monſieur *Barillon*, that he ſaid, he would never forget it while he lived; and tho' he ſaid nothing to me of his Reſentment, yet he ſeemed at this time more reſolved to enter into the War, than I had ever before ſeen or thought him.

Monſieur *Ruvigny* the Son, was diſpatched into *France*, to know the laſt Intentions of that Court, upon the Terms of the Peace propoſed by His Majeſty, but brought no Anſwer clear or poſitive; ſo as His Majeſty went on to compleat his Levies, and to prepare for the War; but *May* the eleventh, the Houſe of Commons paſſed another Negative upon the Debate of Money; which ſo offended the King, that he Prorogued them for ten days, believing in that time his Intentions to enter into the War, would appear ſo clear, as to ſatisfie the Houſe, and put them in better humour. Monſieur *Van Leiven* diſtaſted with theſe delays, and the Counterpaces between King and Parliament, begins to diſcourſe boldly

of the neceſſity his Maſters found to make the Peace as they could, ſince there was no relying upon any meaſures with *England* for carrying on the War, and the Seaſon was too far advanced to admit any longer delays. Upon theſe Diſcourſes from him, His Majeſty began to cool his Talk of a War, and to ſay, The Peace muſt be left to the Courſe which *Holland* had given it; and tho' upon *May* the twenty third, the Parliament met, and ſeemed in much better temper than they parted, yet news coming about the ſame time that Monſieur *Beverning* was ſent by the States to the *French* Court at *Gant*, to propoſe a Ceſſation of Arms for ſix Weeks, in order to negotiate and agree the Terms of the Peace in that time, the Affairs began now to be looked upon both in Court and Parliament, as a thing concluded, or at leaſt as like to receive no other motion than what ſhould be given it by *Holland* and *France*. And indeed, the diſpoſitions were ſo inclined to it on both ſides, that the Terms were ſoon adjuſted between them. Theſe Articles having been ſo publick, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to inſert them, but only ſay, they ſeemed ſo hard both to *Spain*, and to the

the *Northern* Princes, who had made great Conquests upon the *Swedes*, that they all declared they would never accept them; and when the *French* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* desired Sir *Leoline Jenkins* to carry them to the Confederates, he refused to do it, or to have part in a Treaty, or Conditions of *Peace*, so different from what the King his Master had proposed, and what both His Majesty and *Holland* had obliged themselves to pursue by their late Treaty at the *Hague*.

About this time *France* by a Conduct very surprizing, having sent Monsieur *la Feuillade* to *Messina*, with a common expectation of Reinforcing the War in *Sicily*, shewed the Intention was very different, and of a sudden, ordered all their Forces to abandon that Island, with whom many *Messineses* returned, fearing the Vengeance of the *Spaniards*, to whom they were now exposed; and this was the only important Service done that Crown, by all His Majesty's Intentions or Preprerations to assist them; for no Man doubted that the abandoning of *Sicily* was wholly owing to the apprehensions in *France* of a War with *England*, which they thought would give

them but too much occasion for imploying of their Forces; and indeed the eyes and hopes of all the Confederates were now turned so wholly upon *England* for any resource in their Affairs, after *Holland* had deserted them, as they thought, by such precipitate Terms of a Peace, that many of the chief Ministers at *Nimeguen* left that place, as of no more use to the Treaty it was designed for, and went into *England*, where they thought the whole Scene of that Affair then lay, among whom was Count *Antoine* the *Danish* Ambassador, and soon after, Monsieur *Olivecrants*, the *Swedish*, with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Envoy, and several others.

However the Negotiation continued there between the *French* Ambassadors, and Monsieur *Beverning*, till he was sent to the *French* Camp, where he concluded the Terms of the *Peace* towards the end of *June*, and a Cessation from all Hostilities in *Flanders*, for six weeks, which was given to the *Dutch*, to endeavour the *Spaniards* entring into the Peace upon the Terms they had proposed for them. And in the whole Course of this Negotiation, *France* seemed to have no regard, but for *Holland*, and for them

so

ſo much, that the moſt Chriſtian King aſſured the States, that tho' *Spain* ſhould not agree, yet he had ſuch care of their ſatisfaction, that he would always provide, ſuch a Barriere in *Flanders* ſhould be left, as they thought neceſſary for their ſafety; and that after the Peace ſhould be made, and the ancient Amity reſtored, he would be ready to enter into ſuch Engagements and Meaſures with them, as ſhould for ever ſecure their Repoſe and their Liberty.

This was by all interpreted an invidious word, put in on purpoſe to cajole the Enemies of the Prince, who ever pretended the Suſpicions of his affecting more Authority than they deſired, and thereby kept up a Popular Party in the State, the chief of whom had been the chief Promoters of the preſent Peace; and indeed the *Prince* was not at all reſerved in the Endeavours of oppoſing it, but uſed all that was poſſible and agreeable to the Forms of the State; yet all in vain, the Humour having ſpread ſo far at firſt in *Holland*, and from thence into the other Provinces, that it was no longer to be oppoſed or diverted by the Prince.

In the mean time, *England* was grown pretty indifferent in the matter of the Peace, and *Spain* seem'd well inclined to accept their part of it; But the Emperor, the King of *Denmark*, and Elector of *Brandenburg*, fell into the highest Declarations and Reproaches against the States, that could be well invented, ripping up all they had ventured and suffered in a War they had begun only for the preservation of *Holland*; how they were now abandoned by them, in pretending to conclude Imperious and Arbitary terms of Peace upon them without their consent: That they were willing to treat with *France*, and make a Peace upon any safe and reasonable Conditions, but would never endure to have them imposed as from a Conqueror, and would venture all, rather than accept them, especially those for the Duke of *Lorrain*, whose Case was the worst treated, tho' the most favoured in appearance by all the Confederates, and the least contested by *France*.

Notwithstanding all these storms from their Allies, the *Dutch* were little mov'd, and held on their Course, having small regard to any of their satisfaction, besides that of *Spain* in what concern'd the Safety

Safety of *Flanders*; and the neceſſities of that Crown made them eaſie, tho as little contented as the reſt: So as the Peace was upon the point of ſigning by the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, when an unexpected Incident fell in, which had like to have overturn'd this whole Fabrick, and to have renew'd the War with greater Heats, and more equal Forces, by engaging *England* to a ſhare of it in favour of the Confederates, which they had been long practiſing without Succeſs, and now without Hopes.

In the Conditions which *Holland* had made for the *French* reſtoring the ſix Towns in *Flanders* to *Spain*, there was no particular mention made of the time of that Reſtitution: The *Dutch* underſtanding as well as the *Spaniards*, That it was to be upon the Ratifications of the Peace with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any of the other Allies on each ſide were included, or no. But when the *Dutch* Treaty was near ſigning, the Marqueſs *de Balbaces* either found or made ſome occaſion of enquiring more particulary of the *French* Intentions upon this Point. The *French* Amdaſſadors made no Difficulty of declaring, That the King, their Maſter, being obliged to ſee an entire

Reſtitution made to the *Swedes* of all they had loſt in the War, could not evacuate the Towns in *Flanders*, till thoſe to the *Swedes* were likewiſe reſtored: and that this detention of Places, was the only means to induce the Princes of of the *North* to accept of the Peace.

Monſieur *Beverning* gave Account to his Maſters of this new Pretence, and the States ordered him to let the *French* Ambaſſadors know, he could not ſign the Peace without the Reſtitution of the Places in *Flanders* upon the Ratification of the Treaty. The *French* Ambaſſadors were firm on t'other ſide, and ſaid Their Orders were poſitive to inſiſt upon the Reſtitution of *Sweden*. The States hereupon ſent to Monſieur *Van Lewen* to acquaint His Majeſty with this unexpected Incident, and to know his Opinion and Reſolution upon a point of ſo great moment to the Peace of *Chriſtendom* on the one ſide, and to the Safety of *Flanders* on the other. The King was difficult at firſt to believe it, but ſending to the *French* Ambaſſador at *London* to know the Truth of it, and finding him own his Maſter's Intention not to evacuate the Towns till the General Peace was concluded, and *Sweden* ſatisfied; He was both

both surpris'd and angry at this proceeding of *France*; and next morning sent for me to the Foreign Committee, and there declar'd his resolution of sending me immediately into *Holland* with Commission to sign a Treaty with the States, by which they should be obliged to carry on the War, and His Majesty to enter into it, in case *France* should not consent within a certain time limited, to evacuate the Towns. The Duke fell into this Counsel with great warmth, and said at the Committee, That it was plain by this pace, that *France* was not sincere in the business of the Peace; That they aim'd at the Universal Monarchy: and that none but His Majesty could hinder them from it, in the posture that *Christendom* stood. All the Lords of the Committee agreed with so General a concurrence, that it was hard to imagine this should not prove a steddy Resolution, how little soever we had been given to any such. His Majesty took the pains to press *Van Lewen* to go over with me, to perswade the States of the sincereness and constancy of his resolution to pursue this measure with the utmost of his Power; and took upon himself to excuse to the States his Masters, the making this Journey without Their consent.

Upon

Upon this Diſpatch Mr. *Godolphin*, who had been ſo lately in *Holland*, told me, That if I brought the States to the Treaty His Majeſty propos'd upon this occaſion, he would move the Parliament to have my Statue ſet up; the Succeſs whereof may deſerve a further Remark in its due place.

Monſieur *Van Lewen* and I went over in *July* 1678. in two ſeveral Yatches, but met ſoon at the *Hague*, where, upon my firſt Conference with the Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs, one of them made me the handſomeſt *Dutch* Compliment I had met with, *That they eſteemed my coming into* Holland, *like that of the Swallow's, which brought fair Weather always with it.*

The Prince received me with the greateſt joy in the World, hoping by my Errand, and the Succeſs of it, either to continue the War, or recover ſuch Conditions of the Peace for his Allies, as had been wreſted out of his hands by force of a Faction begun at *Amſterdam*, and ſpread ſince into the reſt of the *Provinces*.

To make way for this Negotiation, I concerted with Monſieur *Van Lewen* to Dine at his Country-houſe, with Monſieur

ſieur *Hoeft* of *Amſterdam*, *Vant Tielt* of *Harlem*, *Patz* of *Rotterdam*, and two or three more of the Chief Burgomaſters who had promoted the Peace, or rather precipitated it, upon the *French* Conditions. After Dinner we entred into long Conferences, in which Monſieur *Van Lewen* aſſur'd them with great Confidence of the King's ſincereneſs in the reſolutions he had taken, and ſeconded very effectually all I had to ſay upon that Subject; which had the more credit from one who had gone as far as any of them in purſuit and acceptance of the Peace.

The Prince was impatient to know what had paſſed in this Meeting, which made me go to him that Evening; and I told him what I was very confident to have found, That Monſieur *Patz* was incurable, and not otherwiſe to be dealt with; but that all the reſt were good and well-meaning Perſons to their Country, abuſed firſt by Jealouſies of His Highneſs's Match in *England*, by apprehenſions of our Court being wholly in the Meaſures of *France*, and by the plauſible Offers of *France* towards ſuch a Peace as they could deſire from themſelves. That they were ſomething enlightned

lightned by the late refusal of delivering up the *Spanish* Towns till the satisfaction of *Sweden*; and would, I doubted not, awaken their several Towns, so as to make them receive favourably His Majesty's Proposition upon this Conjuncture. It happened accordingly; for Monsieur *Hoeft* proposing at *Amsterdam* to make a tryal and judgment of the sincerity of *France* upon the whole proceeding of the *Peace*, by their evacuating the *Spanish* Towns, and without it to continue the War; he carried his *Point* there, in spight of *Valkeneer*, and the same followed in all the rest of the Towns: So that when I fell into this Negotiation, I concluded the Treaty in six days; by which *France* was obliged to declare within fourteen after the Date thereof, That they would evacuate the *Spanish* Towns; or, in case of their refusal, *Holland* was engag'd to go on with the War, and *England* immediately to declare it against *France*, in Conjunction with *Holland* and the rest of the Confederates.

It is hardly to be imagined what a new life this gave to the Authority and Fortunes of the *Prince of Orange*, who was now owned by the States to have made a truer judgement than they had done

done, of the Measures they were to expect both from *France* and *England*; the last having proceeded so resolutely to the Offers of entring into the War; (which was never believed in *Holland*) and *France*, after raising so important a difficulty in the Peace, having proceeded in the War so far as to Block up *Mons*, one of the best Frontiers remaining to *Flanders*, which was expected to fall into their hands, before the Terms fixed for the conclusion or rupture of the Peace should expire.

Preparations were made with the greatest vigour imaginable for his Highness's Expedition to relieve *Mons*, and about Ten Thousand *English* already arrived in *Flanders*, were ordered to March that way and join the Prince. He went into the Field, with a firm belief that the War would certainly go on, since *France* seemed too far engaged in Honour to yield the evacuation of the Towns; and tho' they should, yet *Spain* could not be ready to agree and Sign the *Peace* within the Term limited: And he thought that he left the States resolved not to conclude otherwise than in conjunction with that Crown. And besides, he hoped to engage the *French* Army

Army before the term for ſigning, the *Peace* ſhould expire, and reſolved to relieve *Mons*, or dye in the attempt, whether the *Peace* ſucceeded or no; ſo as the continuance of the War ſeemed inevitable. But no man ſince *Solomon* ever enough conſidered how ſubject all things are to Time and Chance, nor how poor Diviners the wiſeſt men are of future Events, how plainly ſoever all things may ſeem laid towards the producing them; nor upon how ſmall Accidents the greateſt Counſels and Revolutions turn, which was never more proved than by the Courſe and Event of this Affair.

After the Treaty concluded and ſignified to *France*, all the Arts that could be were on that ſide imployed to elude it, by drawing this matter into Treaty, or into greater length, which had ſucceeded ſo well in *England*. They offered to Treat upon it at St. *Quentin*, then at *Gant*, where the King himſelf would meet ſuch Ambaſſadors as the *Dutch* ſhould ſend to either of thoſe Towns. But the States were firm, not to recede from their late Treaty concluded with His Majeſty, and ſo continued till about five days before the term was to expire.

Then

Then arrived from *England* one *De Cros*, formerly a *French* Monk, who ſome time ſince had left his Frock for a Petticoat, and inſinuated himſelf ſo far in the *Swediſh* Court, as to procure a Commiſſion (or Credence at leaſt) for a certain petty Agency in *England*. At *London* he had devoted himſelf wholly to Monſieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador, tho' pretending to purſue the Intereſts of *Sweden*. About a Week after I had ſent a Secretary into *England* with the Treaty Signed. This man brought me a Packet from Court, commanding me to go immediately away to *Nimeguen*, and there to endeavour all I could (and from His Majeſty) to perſwade the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors to let the *French* there know, That they would, for the good of *Chriſtendom*, conſent, and even deſire the King of *France* no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns, and conſequently the Peace, upon the ſole regard and Intereſt of the Crown of *Sweden*. I was likewiſe commanded to aſſure the ſaid Ambaſſadors, that after this Peace His Majeſty would uſe all the moſt effectual Endeavours he could for reſtitution of the Towns and Countries the *Swedes* had loſt in the War.

It

It was not eaſie for any Man to be more ſurprizd than I was by this Diſpatch; but the Penſioner *Fagel* was ſtunned, who came and told me the whole Contents of it, before I had mentioned it to any Man; and that *De Cros* had gone about moſt induſtriouſly to the Deputies of the ſeveral Towns, and adquainted them with it, and that the Terms of the Peace were abſolutely conſented, and agreed, between the two Kings; that he had brought me orders to go ſtrait to *Nimeguen*, and that I ſhould at my arrival there, meet with Letters from my Lord *Sunderland*, the King's Ambaſſador at *Paris*, with all the Particulars concluded between them.

How this Diſpatch by *De Cros* was gained, or by whom, I will not pretend to determine; but upon my next return for *England*, the Duke told me, That He knew nothing of it till it was gone, having been a Hunting that morning; my Lord Treaſurer ſaid all that could be to excuſe himſelf of it; and I never talked of it to Secretary *Williamſon*; but the King indeed told me pleaſantly, *That the Rogue* De Cros *had out-witted them all.* The Account I met with at Court was, That theſe Orders were agreed and

and dispatched one morning in an hours time, and in the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*'s Chamber, by the intervention and pursuit of Monsieur *Borillon*. However it was, and what endeavours soever were made immediately after, at our Court, to retrieve this Game, it never could be done; and this one Incident changed the whole Fate of Christendom; and with so little seeming ground for any such Counsel, that before *De Cros*'s arrival at the *Hague*, the *Swedish* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* had made the very same Declaration and Instances to the *French* Ambassadors there, that I was posted away from the *Hague* upon the pretence of persuading them to resolve on.

When I arrived at *Nimeguen*, there remained but three days of the term fixed by the late Treaty between his Majesty and the States at the *Hague*, either for the *French* assent to the evacuation of the Towns, or for the carrying on of the War in Conjunction of *England* with *Holland*, and consequently the rest of the Confederates. I found all Men there persuaded, that the Peace would not succeed; and indeed all appearances were against it. The *French*

Ambaſſadors had given many Reaſons, in a formal ſort of *Manifeſto*, to the *Dutch*, why the King, their Maſter, could not conſent to it, without the previous ſatisfaction of *Sueden*, whoſe Intereſt he eſteemed the ſame with his own; but yet declaring he was willing to receive any Expedients the States ſhould offer in this matter, either by their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, or ſuch as they ſhould ſend to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at St. *Quentin*, or *Gant*. The *Dutch* gave them an Anſwer in Writing, declaring, it was a matter no longer intire, ſince upon the difficulty raiſed about the Evacuation of the Towns, the States, their Maſters, had been induced to ſign a Treaty with *England*, from which they could not recede; nor from the day therein fixed for determining the Fate of either Peace, or War; and as there was no time, ſo there could be no uſe of any Deputation to St. *Quentin*, or *Gant*: nor any other Expedient, beſides the Aſſent of *France*, to evacuate the Towns. After this, the *French* Ambaſſadors had declared to the *Dutch*, That they had found the King, their Maſter, was reſolved, at the deſire of the *Suedes*, to retard the Peace no longer

longer upon their conſideration; and would conſent to evacuate the Towns, upon condition the States would ſend their Deputies to treat upon the ways of ſecuring the future ſatisfaction to *Sueden*, which was by both intended. But the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors continued peremptory, that their could be no Deputation made by their Maſters; and that if the term fixed by the late Treaty with *England* ſhould elapſe, there was no remedy, but the War muſt go on. To this the *French* Ambaſſadors replying, that their hands were bound up from proceeding further without ſuch a Deputation. The Peace was thereupon eſteemed deſperate; and the more ſo, becauſe, at the ſame time, the Duke of *Lutzenburgh* preſſed *Mons*, and the Mareſchal *Scomberg* ſeemed to threaten *Colen*, demanding of them immediate ſatisfaction of the Money that had been ſeized during the Aſſembly there; and *Bruſſels* it ſelf grew unquiet upon their finding themſelves almoſt ſurrounded by *French* Troops; ſo as the Confederate Miniſters thought themſelves ſecure of what they had ſo much, and ſo long deſired, and aim'd at, which was a long War in conjunction with *England*; for

they neither believed *France* would yield a point they had ſo long, and ſo publickly conteſted; nor (if they did) that the *Dutch* would ſuffer their Ambaſſadors to ſign the Peace without *Spain*; and the time was now too near expiring for agreeing the Terms and Draught of a Treaty between the two Crowns, which had not yet been in any kind digeſted.

In the midſt of theſe Appearances and Diſpoſitions at *Nimeguen*, came the fatal day, agreed by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, for determining whether a ſudden Peace, or a long War, were to be reckoned upon in *Chriſtendom*; when, in the morning early, Monſieur *Boreel*, who had been ſent from *Amſterdam* to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, went to the *French* Ambaſſadors; and after ſome Conference with them, theſe three Ambaſſadors went immediately to thoſe of *Holland*, and declared to them, they had received Orders to conſent to the evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to ſign the Peace; but that it muſt be done that very morning. Whether the *Dutch* were ſurprized, or no, they ſeemed to be ſo; and entring into debate upon ſeveral of

of the Articles, as well as upon the Intereſt of *Spain*, this Conference laſted near five hours, but ended in agreement upon all the Points, both of Peace and Commerce, between *France* and *Holland*; and Orders for writing all fair with the greateſt haſte that was poſſible, ſo as the Treaty might be ſigned that Night.

About Four in the Afternoon, the *French* Ambaſſadors, having demanded an hour of me, and Sir *Leoline*, came to us at my Houſe, gave us an account of their agreement with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors upon all Points in difference between them; and of the Treaty's being ſo ordered, as that it ſhould be ſigned that Evening, and made us the offer that they would all come and ſign it at my Houſe, that ſo we might have the part in it that was due to the Mediators.

We anſwered them, That having been ſent by his Majeſty with inſtructions only to mediate a general Peace, we could not by our Orders aſſiſt at the ſigning of a particular one; and therefore deſired them to excuſe us from having any part in this Concluſion between them and the *Dutch*, either by

the ſigning it at our Houſes, or by uſing our Names as Mediators in the Treaty.

The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors came to us likewiſe with the ſame Communication and Offer, and received the ſame Anſwer; and I obſerved their Converſation upon this mighty and ſudden turn to be a good deal embaraſſed, and ſomething irreſolute, and not very well agreed between the two Ambaſſadors themſelves: Monſieur *Beverning* complained of the uncertainty of our Conduct in *England*, and the incurable Jealouſies that *De Cros*'s Journey had raiſed in *Holland*. That ſince the King ſtill deſired the Peace, his Maſters had nothing to do but to conclude it; and that They, the Ambaſſadors, took themſelves to be ſo inſtructed, as that they muſt Sign the Peace upon the offers made by the *French* to evacuate the Towns. Monſieur *Haren* did not ſeem to me ſo clear in point of their Orders, and I never could learn whether upon *De Cros*'s Arrival and Diſcourſes at the *Hague*, the States Deputies there had ſent Orders to their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* to Sign the Peace (even without the *Spaniards*) in caſe of the *French* aſſenting to the evacuation of the

the Towns before the day appointed for that purpoſe ſhould expire; or whether only the Town of *Amſterdam* had by *Boreel* ſent that advice to Monſieur *Beverning*, with aſſurances to bear him out in what he did, were his Orders might receive a doubtfull Senſe or Interpretation: However it were, Monſieur *Beverning* was bent upon giving this ſudden end to the War, and ſuch a quick diſpatch to the Draught of the Treaty, that it was agreed in all Articles, and written out fair, ſo as to be Signed between Eleven and Twelve at Night. And thus were eluded all the effects of the late Treaty concluded at the *Hague*, and the hopes conceived by the Confederates of the War's going on, which ſo provoked ſeveral of their Miniſters, as to ingage them in ſharp and violent Proteſtations againſt the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, by which they hoped to deter them from Signing the Peace without new Orders from their Maſters. But all was to no purpoſe, *Beverning* was unmoved, and the thing was done.

The day after the Peace was ſigned, came an Expreſs to me from Court, with the Ratifications of the late Treaty between his Majeſty and the States, and

Orders to me immediately to proceed to the exchange of them; which was such a Counterpace to the Dispatch I had received by *De Cros*, and to the consequences of it, which had ended in the conclusion of the Peace, and thereby rendred the late Treaty of no further use; that the Ratification seemed now as unnecessary as it had been at first unresolved at our Court, and unexpected from us by the *Dutch*: However, I went away immediately upon this Express, and next Day after my arrival at the *Hague*, made an exchange of the Ratifications, according to the Orders I had received.

I found the Pensioner, and several other of the Deputies, very much unsatisfied with the Peace, and more with the Precipitation of Monsieur *Beverning* to Sign it upon the Sudden offer of the *French* Ambassadors to evacuate the Towns, and before he had acquainted the States with it, and received new Orders upon it. They said, his Instructions could not warrant him; they talked of calling him in question for it, and of disavowing what he had done, and thereupon of having recourse to the Treaty with His Majesty (which they now

now saw ratified) and of continuing the War in conjunction with *England*; and the rather, because they saw *France* had no mind to venture it, but had chosen to stoop from those high flights they had so long made in all Transactions with their Neighbours, either of War or Peace. But others of the Deputies, especially those of *Amsterdam*, declared their satisfaction in this conclusion at *Nimeguen*; argued that the weakness of their Confederates, especially *Spain*, and the unsteddiness or irresolution of *England*, had made the Peace of absolute necessity to *Holland*, and excused any precipitation of their Ambassadors in Signing that Day, or without clear and positive Orders, upon the emergency being so sudden and surprizing, and the time so critical, that the delay of sending to the *Hague* must of necessity have engaged the States in their obligations of the late Treaty with *England*, and thereby in a necessity of continuing the War.

The truth is, I never observed, either in what I had seen or read, any Negotiation managed with greater Address and Skill, than this had been by the *French* in the whole course of this Affair, espe-

especially since the Prince of *Orange's* Match, which was thought to have given them so great a blow, and by force of Conduct was turned so much to their advantage. 'Tis certain and plain, they never intended to continue the War, if *England* should fall with such weight into the scale of the Confederates, as the force of that Kingdom, and humour of the People would have given to such a Conjunction; and consequently, that his Majesty might have prescribed what Terms he pleased of the Peace during the whole course of his Mediation. For besides the respect which the *French* have for our Troops both Horse and Foot, more than any others, especially since the Services and advantages they received from them in all their actions against the *Germans*; besides the terrour of a Conjunction between our Naval Forces and the *Dutch*, and of Descents upon their Coasts, with the dangerous influences *that* might make upon the discontents of their People. They wisely foresaw another consequence of our falling into this Confederacy, which must unadvoidably have proved more mortal to them than all the rest in two Years time; for whereas the Wealth

Wealth of *France*, which makes their Greatneſs, ariſes from the infinite Conſumption made by ſo many Neighbouring Countries, of ſo many and rich Commodities as the Native Soil and Climate, or Ingenuity of the People produces in *France*; In caſe this War had gone on, with *England* engaged in it, all theſe Veins of ſuch infinite Treaſure had been ſeized at once, or at leaſt left open only to ſome parts of *Italy*, which neither takes off their Wines, their Salts, nor their Modes in Habit or Equipage, that draw ſo vaſt expences upon all the Provinces almoſt of *Europe*, which lie Northward of *France*, and dreins ſuch vaſt Summs of Money from all their Neighbouurs into that Fruitful and Noble Kingdom, more favoured by Nature, in my opinion than any other in the World. But the loſs of this Advantage, upon the Neceſſity, Folly, or Luxury of others, muſt in two or three Years time reduce them to ſuch weakneſs in thoſe Sinews of War, by ſo general a Poverty and Miſery among their People, that there would need no other effect of ſuch a general Confederacy, to conſume the Strength and Force of that Nation. This they very prudently foreſaw, and never in-

intended to venture: but having reason to apprehend it from the Prince of *Orange*'s Match in *England*, they took it without Resentment; nay improved it rather into new Kindness than Quarrel, making use of the King's good Nature to engage him in a Prorogation of the Parliament immediately after; which made it appear both at home and abroad, that they had still the Asceendant upon our Court. They eluded the effect of the Message sent them by Lord *Duras*, with his Majesty's Scheme of the Peace, by drawing it out into Expostulations of Kindness, and so into Treaty. During this Amusement of our Court, they plyed their Business in *Holland*; yet with greater Art and Industry, poysoned the People there with Jealousies of the Prince's Match in *England*, and of Designs from both upon their Liberties, by a long and unnecessary Continuance of the War. They united the Factions in *Amsterdam* upon the *Sente* of a Peace, and upon their own Conditions, to avoid those that had been Proposed by his Majesty. When they had gained their Point with the several Deputies in *Holland*, they acquainted the King with their being sure of the Peace on that side, and by

by his Ambaſſadors at *Paris*, made Offers of mighty Sums both to himſelf and his cheif Miniſter, only for their Conſent to ſuch a Peace as *Holland* it ſelf was content with. When the States had abſolutely reſolved on the Peace by the particular Faction of *Amſterdam*, and general Terror upon the *French* taking of *Gant*, and threatning *Antwerp*, they eſteemed the humour in *Holland* ſo violent towards the Peace, and ſo unſatiſfied with the fluctuation of our Councils in *England*, that they thought they might be bold with them upon the intereſts of *Spain*, and ſo raiſed the pretence of not evacuating the Towns before the ſatisfaction of *Sweden*; and tho' I know this was by the Politicians eſteemed a wrong pace of *France*, yet I did not think it ſo, but that all appearances were for their ſucceeding in it. Nor had they reaſon to believe either our Court or *Holland* would have reſented it to that degree they did, or that they could have fallen into ſuch cloſe and ſudden meaſures, and with ſuch confidence as they happened to do upon this occaſion, by the Treaty of *July* at the *Hague*: When this was concluded, they made all the Offers that could be, at breaking the

force

force of it, by drawing it into Negotiation, and by condescentions to the States unusal with that Crown, even to the greatest Kings. They poysoned it by the Dispatch of *De Cros*, and by his Instructions, as well as Artifices and Industry, to make the Contents of it publick at the *Hague*, which were pretended at Court to be sent over to me with the greatest secrecy that could be. At the same time they made all the Declarations of not receding from the difficulties they had raised otherwise than by Treaty, and thereby laid asleep all Jealousies of the Confederates, as well as Endeavours to prevent a blow they did not believe could arrive where the Honour of *France* seemed so far engaged. And thus they continued, till the very day limited for their final Declaration. The Secret was so well kept, that none had the least umbrage of it that very Morning. When they declared it they left not the *Dutch* Ambassadors time enough to send to their Masters, fearing if they had, the States would have refused to sign without *Spain*, which could not be ready before the time must have elapsed for incurring the effects of the late Treaty.

Thus

Thus the Peace was gained with *Holland*. His Majesty was excluded from any fair pretence of entring into the War after the vast expence of raising a great Army, and transporting them into *Flanders*, and after a great expectation of his People raised, and, as they thought, deluded. *Spain* was necessitated to accept the Terms that the *Dutch* had negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the Empire wholly at the mercy and discretion of *France*, and the restitution of *Lorrain* (which all had consented in) wholly abandoned and unprovided. So that I must again conclude the Conduct of *France* to have been admirable in the whole course of this Affair, and the *Italian* Proverb to continue true, *Che gle Franceſi pazzi ſono morti*. On the contrary, our Counsels and Conduct were like those of a floating Island, driven one way or t'other according to the Winds or Tides. The King's dispositions inclin'd him to preserve his Measures with *France*, and consequently to promote a Peace which might break the present Confederacy. The Humour of his People and Parliament was violent towards engaging him in a War; the Ministers were wa-

The *French* Fools are dead.

wavering between the fears of making their Court ill, or of drawing upon them the heats of a House of Commons, whom the King's Expences made him always in need of. From these humours arose those uncertainties in our Conncils, that no Man who was not behind the Curtain could tell what to make of, and which appeared to others much more mysterious than indeed they were; till a new and formidable Engine beginning to appear upon the Stage, made the Court fall into an absolute resolution of entring into the War just when it was too late; and to post away the Ratifications of the Treaty of *July* so as to arrive the day after the *French* and *Dutch* had sign'd the Peace, and after the King had given the States occasion to believe he did not intend to ratifie it, but that he had taken his Measures with *France*; for so all Men in *Holland* concluded from *de Cros*'s Journey, and the Commands he brought me for mine to *Nimeguen*, at a time when my presence at the *Hague* was thought the most necessary, both to ratifie the Treaty, if it had been intended, and to keep the States firm to their Resolutions upon it.

Thus

Thus ended in ſmoke this whole Negotiation, which was near raiſing ſo great a Fire. *France* having made the Peace with *Holland*, treated all the reſt of it with eaſe and leiſure, as playing a ſure Game. *England*, to avoid a cruel Convulſion, that threatned them at home, would fain have gone into the War, if *Holland* would have been prevail'd with; but they could not truſt us enough to loſe the preſent Intereſt of Trade for the uncertain events of a War, wherein they thought their Neighbours more concern'd than themſelves.

About two or three days after my return to the *Hague*, and exchanging the Ratifications, came the News of the Battel of *Mons*, between the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Command of the Duke of *Lutzenburgh*, who had poſted himſelf with the Strength and Flower of the *French* Forces, ſo as to prevent the Prince's Deſign of Relieving *Mons*. And I remember, the day the *Dutch* Peace was ſigned at *Nimeguen*, I was ſaying to the Mareſchal *de' Eſtrades*, That for ought I knew, we might have a Peace ſign'd and a Battel fought both in one day. He replyed, There was no fear of it; for the Duke of *Lutzenburgh*

had writ him word, he was ſo poſted, that if he had but Ten thouſand Men, and the Prince Forty, yet he was ſure he would not be forced; whereas he took his Army to be ſtronger than That of the Prince. I need not relate an Action ſo well known in the World, and ſo ſhall only ſay, That in ſpight of many Diſadvantages from an Army drawn ſo ſuddenly together, ſo haſty a March as that of the *Dutch*, and Poſts taken with ſo much skill, and fortified with ſo much induſtry by the *French*, as was believed, the Prince upon the fourteenth of *Auguſt* attacqued them with a reſolution and vigour that at firſt ſurprized them, and, after an obſtinate and bloody Fight, ſo diſorded them, that tho' the Night prevented the end of the Action, yet it was generally concluded, That if he had been at liberty next day to purſue it with ſeven or eight thouſand *Engliſh* that were ready to join his Army, he muſt in all appearance not only have relieved *Mons*; but made ſuch an impreſſion into *France* as had been often deſigned, but never attempted ſince the War began; and upon which a *French* Officer preſent in it ſaid, *That he eſteem'd This the only Heroick Action that had been*

been done in the whole courſe or Progreſs of it.

But the morning after the Battel, the Prince receiv'd from the States an Advice from the Peace having been ſign'd at *Nimeguen*, and thereupon immediately ſent a Deputy with the News of it to Monſieur *de Lutzenburgh*. After Compliments paſſed on both ſides, That Duke deſir'd to ſee the Prince, which was agreed to, and they met in the Field at the Head of their chief Officers, where all paſſed with the Civilities that became the occaſion, and with great curioſity of the *French* to ſee and crowd about a young Prince, who had made ſo much noiſe in the World, and had the day before given life and vigour to ſuch a deſperate Action, as all Men eſteem'd this Battel of St. *Denis*. Yet many Reflections were made upon it by the Prince's Friends as well as his Enemies: Some ſaid that he knew the Peace was ſigned before the Fight began: and that it was too great a venture both to Himſelf and the States, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, ſince it could be to no other Advantage: Others laid it to the Marquis of *Grana*, who they ſaid had intercepted and concealed the

States Pacquet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the day before the Battel, (but after it was resolv'd on :) and that he had hopes by such a breach of the Peace, even after it was signed, that the progress of it would have been defeated. Whether this were true or no, I could never certainly be informed; but so much is, That the Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory, nor with greater Spight, to see such a mighty Occasion wrested out of his hand, by the sudden and unexpected signing of the Peace, which he had assur'd himself the States would not have consented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the certain News of it, he drew back his Army, returned to the *Hague*, and left the States to pursue their own paces in order to finishing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, wherein the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* employ'd themselves with great zeal and diligence, and no longer as Parties or Confederates, but as Mediators, whil'st Sir *Leoline*, who continued still there in that figure, declin'd the Function, as in a matter wherein he found our Court would not take any part, nor allow themselves to have had any in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*. Soon

Soon after the Prince's return, he went to *Dieren* to hunt in the *Velawe*, like a Perſon that had little elſe left to do. And I having occaſion to go at the ſame time to *Amſterdam*, he deſir'd me to remember him kindly to Monſieur *Hoeft* the chief Burgomaſter there, and tell him, That he deſired him to be no longer in his Intereſt, than he ſhould find his Highneſs in the true Intereſts of the State. I did ſo; and Monſieur *Hoeft* very frankly and generouſly bid me tell the Prince, he would be juſt what his Highneſs deſired, and be ever firm to his Intereſts, while he was in thoſe of his Country; but if ever his Highneſs departed from them, he would be the firſt Man to oppoſe him; till then he would neither cenſure nor diſtruſt his Conduct; for he knew very well, without mutual Truſt between the Prince and the States, his Country muſt be ruined. From this time to that of his Death, Monſieur *Hoeft* continued in the ſame mind, and by his Examples that great and Jealous Town began to fall into much more Confidence, not only of the Prince, but of this whole Conduct in the adminiſtration of the Affairs of their State.

For the time I ſtay'd at *Amſterdam*, I was every day in Converſation with Monſieur *Hoeft*, who, beſides much Learning, Worth, Sincereneſs, and Credit in his Town, was a Man of a Pleaſant Natural Humour, which makes, in my Opinion, the moſt agreeable Converſation of all other Ingredients, and much more than any of thoſe ſqueez'd or forc'd Strains of Wit that are in ſome places ſo much in requeſt, tho' I think commonly Men that affect them are themſelves much fonder of them than any of the Company.

Dining one day at Monſieur *Hoeft*'s, and having a great Cold, I obſerved every time I Spit, a tight handſome Wench (that ſtood in the Room with a Clean Cloth in her Hand) was preſently down to wipe it up, and rub the Board clean: Some Body at Table ſpeaking of my Cold, I ſaid, the moſt trouble it gave me was to ſee the poor Wench take ſo much pains about it: Monſieur *Hoeft* told me, 'Twas well I eſcapt ſo; and that if his Wife had been at home, tho' I were an Ambaſſador, ſhe would have turn'd me out of Doors for fouling her Houſe: And laughing at that humour, ſaid, There were two Rooms of his

his Houſe that he never durſt come into, and believed they were never open but twice a Year to make them clean. I ſaid, I found he was a good Patriot, and not only in the Intereſts of his Country, but in the Cuſtoms of his Town, where that of the Wives Governing, was I heard a thing eſtabliſhed. He replied, 'Twas true, and that all a Man could hope for there, was to have *une douce Patrone*, and that his Wife was ſo. An eaſie Governeſs

Another of the Magiſtrates at Table, who was a graver Man, ſaid Monſieur *Hoeft* was pleaſant; but the thing was no more ſo in their Town, than in any other Places that he knew of. *Hoeft* replied very briskly, it was ſo, and could not be otherwiſe, for it had long been the Cuſtom; and whoever offered to break it, would have banded againſt him, not only all the Women of the Town, but all thoſe Men too that were governed by their Wives, which would make too great a Party to be oppoſed. In the afternoon, upon a viſit, and occaſion of what had been ſaid at Monſieur *Hoeft*'s, many Stories were told of the ſtrange and curious Cleanlineſs ſo general in that City: and ſome ſo extravagant, that my Siſter took them for

jeaſt; when the Secretary of *Amſterdam*, that was of the Company, deſiring her to look out of the Window, ſaid, Why, Madam, there is the Houſe where one of our Magiſtrates going to viſit the Miſtreſs of it, and knocking at the Door, a ſtrapping *North Holland* Laſs came and opened it; he asked whether her Miſtreſs was at home, ſhe ſaid, Yes; and with that he offered to go in: But the Wench marking his Shooes were not very clean, took him by both Arms, threw him upon her Back, carried him croſs two Rooms, ſet him down at the bottom of the Stairs, pull'd off his Shooes, put him on a pair Slippers that ſtood there, and all this without ſaying a Word; but when ſhe had done, told him he might go up to her Miſtreſs, who was in her Chamber.

I was very glad to have a little diverſion with ſuch Pleaſantaries as theſe, the thoughts of that buſie Scene I was ſo deep engaged in, that I will confeſs, the very remembrance of it, and all the ſtrange ſurprizing turns of it, began to renew thoſe cruel Motions they had raiſed both in my head and heart, whilſt I had ſo great and ſo ſenſible a part in them. But to return where I left the thread of theſe Affairs. After

After the Peace of *Holland* and *France*, the Miniſters of the Confederates, eſpecially thoſe of *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, imployed their laſt Efforts to prevent the *Spaniards* agreeing to their part of the Peace, as accepted for them by the *Dutch*. They exclaimed at their breach of Honour and Intereſt. That what was left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* by thoſe Terms, was indefencible, and could ſerve but to exhauſt their Men and Treaſurers to no purpoſe. That the Deſign of *France* was only to break this preſent Confederacy by theſe ſeparate Treaties, and ſo leave the *Spaniards* abandoned by their Allies upon the next Invaſion; which they would have reſon to expect, if *Spain* ſhould uſe them with as little regard of their Honour and Treaties, as the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors ſeemed to deſign. Theſe themſelves alſo met with ſome difficulties in their Mediation, by a Pretenſion raiſed in *France* upon the County of *Beaumont*, and Town of *Bovignes*, which they did not find to have been mentioned in what had paſſed between the *French* and *Dutch*, upon the ſcore of *Spain*, before the Peace was ſigned,

All

All theſe Circumſtances began to make it look uncertain what would at length be determined by the States, as to their Ratifications, which were like to be delayed till *Spain* had concluded their Treaty, though thoſe of *France* had been diſpatched ſo, as to arrive at *Mimegnen* the twenty ſecond of this Month; and Monſieur *D' Avaux* commanded from thence to the *Hague*, in quality of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States; and the *French* Army had retired into *France* at the ſame time the *Dutch* returned from before *Mons*. So that all ſeemed on the *French* ſide reſolved to purſue the Peace; on the ſide of the Empire, and Princes of the *North*, to carry on the War: On the *Spaniards*, very irreſolute, whether or no to accept the Peace the *Dutch* had mediated for them: And in *Holland*, 'twas doubtful, whether to ratifie that their Ambaſſadors had ſigned, and whether at leaſt before the Treaty of *Spain* ſhould be agreed.

Whilſt the minds of Men were buſied with different Reaſonings and Preſages, as well as wiſhes, upon this Conjuncture; About the end of *Auguſt* Mr. *Hyde* arrived at the *Hague* from *England* without

without the leaſt intimation given me of his Journey, or his Errand; ſo that I was ſurprized both to ſee him, and to hear the deſign of ſuch a ſudden diſpatch.

The ſubſtance of it was to acquaint the States how much the King had been ſurprized at the News of their Ambaſſadors having ſigned a particular Treaty with *France*, even without the incluſion of *Spain*, and without any Guaranty given for the evacuation of the Towns within the time requiſite: To complain of this Precipitation of the States; and at the ſame time of the new Pretenſions that *France* had advanced upon the County of *Beaumont*, and the Town of *Bovignes*, which had retarded the Peace of *Spain*, and hindred it from being concluded at the ſame time with that of *Holland*, which his Majeſty underſtood always to have been the Intention of the States, as well as his own. That for theſe Reaſons he underſtood and believed, that the late Treaty of *July*, between his Majeſty and the States, ought to take effect, the caſe being fallen out againſt which that was provided, and both Parties being thereby obliged to enter jointly into the War againſt

France

France. That if the States would hereupon refuſe to ratifie the Treaty their Miniſters had ſigned at *Nimeguen*, his Majeſty offered to declare War immediately againſt *France*, and carry it on in all points according to the Articles and Obligations of the ſaid Treaty with the States.

Tho' Mr. *Hyde* did not know, or did not tell me the true ſpring of this reſolute pace that was made by our Court, ſo different from all the reſt in the whole courſe of this Affair; yet he aſſured me they were both in earneſt, and very warm upon the ſcent, and deſired nothing ſo much as to enter immediately and vigorouſly into the War, in caſe *Holland* would be perſuaded to continue it; and that no time, nor endeavours were to be neglected in purſuing the Commiſſion he brought over, which was given jointly to us both, and recommended to me particularly from Court with all the Inſtances and earneſtneſs that could be. When I carried him that very Evening to the Prince at *Hounſlerdyke*, and he acquainted his Highneſs with the whole extent of his Errand and Inſtructions; The Prince received it very coldly, and only adviſed him to give in a Memorial to the States and

and ask Commiſſioners to treat, by whom he would find what the mind of the States was like to be upon this Affair, and at which he would at preſent make no conjecture.

After a ſhort Audience, Mr. *Hyde* went to the Princeſs, and left me alone with the Prince, who as ſoon as he was gone, lift up his hands two or three times, and ſaid, Was ever any thing ſo hot and ſo cold as this Court of yours? Will the King that is ſo often at Sea never learn a word that I ſhall never forget ſince my laſt paſſage? When in a great Storm the Captain was all night crying out to the Man at the Helm, Steddy, Steddy, Steddy; if this diſpatch had come twenty days ago, it had changed the face of Affairs in *Chriſtendom*, and the War might have been carried on till *France* had yielded to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and left the World in quiet for the reſt of our lives. As it comes now it will have no effect at all, at leaſt, that is my opinion, tho' I would not ſay ſo to Mr. *Hyde*.

After this he asked me what I could imagine was at the bottom of this new heat in our Court; and what could make it break out ſo *mal a propos*, after the Unſeaſonably.

diſ-

diſſatisfaction they had expreſſed upon the late Treaty, when it was firſt ſent over, and the Diſpatch of *De Cros*, ſo contrary to the deſign of it. I told him very truly, that I was perfectly ignorant of the whole matter, and could give no gueſs at the motions of it: And ſo I continued till ſome Months after, when I was adviſed, that the buſineſs of the Plot, which has ſince made ſo much noiſe in the World, was juſt then breaking out, and that the Court to avoid the Conſequences *That* might have upon the ill humour of the Parliament, which ſeemed to riſe chiefly from the Peace, his Majeſty reſolved to give them the Satisfaction they had ſo long deſired, of entring into the War, which is all the account I can give of this Counſel or Reſolution.

The Event proved anſwerable to the Judgment the Prince at firſt made of it; for tho' the States Deputies drew the matter into ſeveral Debates and Conferences with us, which filled all Parties concerned in the War, with different apprehenſions, and ſerved to facilitate the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*: yet the Penſioner told me from the firſt, this was all the uſe that could be made of it,

and

and that the States were ſo unſatisfied with our whole Conduct in the buſineſs of the Peace, that tho' they would be glad to ſee us in the War, yet they were reſolved to have no further part in it, unleſs *France* ſhould refuſe what they had already promiſed to *Spain*. However while this Affair continued in agitation during Mr. *Hyde*'s ſtay at the *Hague*, all appearances looked very different from the Opinion of the Prince and Penſioner, who alone had ſo full a graſp of the buſineſs in *Holland*, as to make a true Judgment what the general ſentiments *there* would determine in. Many of the Deputies were ſo ill ſatisfied with their Ambaſſadors having ſigned the Peace, that they inclined to his Majeſty's Propoſals, and framed ſeveral Articles againſt Monſieur *Beverning*'s Proceedings, whereof ſome laid miſtakes to his Charge; others, the omiſſion of matters abſolutely neceſſary in the Treaty; and others more directly, his having gone beyond his Orders and Inſtructions; particularly, in having ſtipulated that the States ſhould give their Guaranty for the Neutrality of *Spain*. And in this point, I doubt he had nothing to ſhew from his Maſters to cover him

him. The reſt ſeemed rather to be raiſed invidiouſly at his Conduct, in having ſuddenly concluded an Affair, which they now ſaw might have had another iſſue if he had given it more breath, tho' at that time many of his accuſers expected as little from *England* as he did, and with reaſon alike, ſince none of them could imagine any thing of that new Spring there, from which this violent motion had begun. What ever Monſieur *Beverning*'s Orders or his Proceedings had been, the heats were ſo high againſt him at the *Hague*, that many talked, not only of diſavowing what he had done, but of forming Proceſs againſt him upon it; And tho' in a ſhort ſtay he made there upon this occaſion, he had the Fortune or the Juſtice to ſee his Enemies grow calm towards him; yet he was not a little mortified with ſo ill payment of what he thought had been ſo good Service to his Country; and after his return to *Nimeguen*, was obſerved to proceed in the Negotiations there, with more flegm and caution than was natural to his Temper, and leſs ſhow of partiality to the Peace than he had made in the whole courſe of the Treaty.

All

All the while theſe matters were in motion at the *Hague*, the King's Forces were every day tranſporting into *Flanders*, as if the War were to be carried on with the greateſt certainty and vigour, which gave opinion and heart to thoſe in *Holland*, that diſliked the Peace; it raiſed alſo ſo great confidence in the *Spaniards*, that they fell into all the meaſures they could with the Confederate Miniſters at *Nimeguen*, to form difficulties and delays in the Treaty there, between that Crown and *France*, upon the ſecurity that *Holland* would not ratifie theirs till that of *Spain* were concluded; and that in the mean time they might be drawn into the War by the violent diſpoſitions which now appeared in *England*, as well as in the Confederates to continue it. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors laid hold on all occaſions to accept againſt the matter or ſtile of thoſe Articles which *Holland* had mediated between them and *France*; they found difficulties upon the condition wherein the ſeveral Towns to be evacuated ſhould be reſtored to them, as to the Fortifications that had been made in them by the *French*, and as to the Artillery and Munitions that were in them at the time

when the *Dutch* had agreed upon thoſe Conditions. They found matter of diſpute upon the Territories that belonged to the ſeveral Towns, and eſpecially upon the *Chattellenie* of *Aeth*, which *France* had diſmembred ſince it was in their poſſeſſion, and had joined above Threeſcore Villages to the *Chattellenie* of *Tournay*, which had belonged to *Aeth*, and were with that Town transferred by the *Spaniards* to the *French* upon the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*: But the *French* pretending now to reſtore it, only in the Condition they had left it, and not what they had found it, the *Spaniards* made a mighty clamour both at *London* and the *Hague*, upon this Subject, and complained of this among other ſmaller matters, as Innovations endeavoured to be introduced by *France*, even beyond what they had themſelves propoſed to the *Dutch*, and agreed in *April* laſt, which had been lay'd and purſued as the very foundation of the Peace,

In this uncertain State all matters continued at the *Hague* for about three Weeks, the Opinions of moſt Men running generally againſt the Peace, as well as the Wagers at *Amſterdam*, by which People often imagine the pulſe of the State

State is to be felt and judged, tho' it indeed be a ſort of Trade driven by Men that have little dealing or ſucceſs in any other, and is managed with more tricks than the reſt ſeems to be in that Scene, not only coyning falſe News upon the place, but practiſing Intelligence from remote Parts to their purpoſe, concerting the ſame Advices from different Countries, and making great Secret and Myſtery of Reports that are raiſed on purpoſe to the Publick, and yet by ſuch devices as theſe, not only the Wagers at *Amſterdam* are commonly turning, but the riſing and falling of the very Actions of the *Eaſt-India* Company are often, and in a great meaſure influenced.

But *France* thought the Conjuncture too important to let it hover long in ſuch uncertainties, and therefore firſt diſpatched a Courier to their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, with leave to ſatisfy the States in thoſe Clauſes of their Treaty wherein they ſeemed to accept juſtly againſt Monſieur *Beverning*'s Conduct, and thereby cover the credit of that Miniſter who had been ſo affectionate an Inſtrument in the progreſs of the Treaty. Next they gave them liberty to ſoften a

little of the rigour they had hitherto exerciſed in the ſmalleſt points conteſted with the *Spaniards*; and laſt of all, they diſpatched an Expreſs to their Ambaſſadors with Power to remit all the differences which obſtructed or retarded the concluſion of the Treaty between that Crown and *Spain*, to the determination and Arbitrage of the States themſelves.

This was a Pace of ſo much confidence towards the States, and appeared ſuch a teſtimony of the moſt Chriſtian King's ſincerity, in the late advances he had made towards a Peace, that it had all the effect deſigned by it. The ſeveral Towns and Provinces proceeded with a general concurrence to the Ratifications of the Peace, that they might lie ready in their Ambaſſadors hands, to be exchanged when that of *Spain* ſhould be ſigned. Monſieur *Beverning* now favoured with a fair Gale from home, the humour of his Country blowing the ſame way with his own diſpoſitions, and ſeconded with the great facilities that were given by *France*, made ſuch a quick diſpatch of what remained in conteſt upon the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, that all was perfected and ſigned by

by the twentieth of *September*, and thereupon the *Dutch* Ratifications were exchanged with the usual forms. In all this, Sir *Leoline Jenkins* had no part, as in an Affair disapproved by the King his Master. The *Dutch* Ambassadors played the part of formal Mediators, had the Treaty between the two Crowns signed at their House, and took great care by the choice and disposition of the Room where it was performed, to avoid all punctillio's about Place that might arise between the several Ambassadors. Mr. *Hyde* had the mortification to return into *England* with the entire disappointment of the Design upon which he came, and believed the Court so passionately bent; I was left at the *Hague* without any thing more to do, than to perform the part of a Common Ambassador. *France* was left in possession of the Peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and by consequence, Master of *that* of the Empire, and the *North*, upon their own Terms; and *England* was left to busie it self about a Fire that was breaking out at home with so much smoak, and so much noise, that as it was hard to discover the beginning, so it was much harder to foresee the end of it.

After the Peace of *Spain* ſigned, and of *Hollond* ratified, tho' the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor at *Nimeguen* were ſullen, and thoſe of *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* enraged, yet by the Application of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, the Conferences were ſet on foot between them and the *French*; and Sir *Leoline* received Orders from Court to return to his Function, tho' the remaining part he had in the Affair, was rather that of a Meſſenger, than a Mediator. The *Northern* Princes continued their Preparations and Marches, as if they reſolved to purſue the War, but at the ſame time gave jealouſies to the Emperor, of ſome Private Intelligences or Negotiations of ſeparate Treaties, ſet on foot between *France* and *Denmark*, and others between that Crown and *Brandenburgh*, by Monſieur *Deſpenſe*, an old Servant of the Elector, but Subject of *France*. On the other ſide, *France* made great Preparations to attack the Empire, upon the Pretence of forcing them into the Terms they had preſcribed for the Peace, and thereby gave ſo great terror to the Princes of the *Rhine*, that lay firſt expoſed to the fury of their Arms, that the Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers*, and Duke of *Nieuburgh*, ſent away in great

great haſte to the States, demanding and deſiring to be included by them in the Peace they had made, by virtue of an Article therein, which gave them liberty within ſix Weeks to declare and include ſuch as they ſhould name for their Allies. But this was oppoſed by *France*, and refuſed to any particular Princes of the Empire, and allowed only to the Emperor and Empire if they ſhould jointly deſire to be declared and included in the Peace, as an Ally of *Holland*. The Duke of *Lorrain* about the ſame time, ſeeing the whole Confederacy breaking into ſo many ſeveral Pieces, and every one minding only how to ſhift the beſt they could for themſelves, accepted his part of the Peace, as *France* had carved it out for him, and choſe the Alternative offered from that Crown, by which *Nancy* was to remain to *France*. But the Emperor tho' he profeſſed all the inclination that could be, to ſee the General Peace reſtored, yet he pretended not to ſuffer the Terms of it ſhould like Laws be impoſed upon him; he conſented to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*, which ſeemed to be all that *France* inſiſted on, but could not agree to the Paſſage demanded for

their Troops, whenever they found it neceſſary for the Execution of the ſaid Treaties; and this was inſiſted on poſitively by the *French*. Nor could the *Imperialiſts* yield to the dependance pretended by *France*, of the ten Towns of *Alſatia* upon that Crown, which the *French* demanded as ſo left, or at leaſt intended by the Treaty of *Munſter*, while the Emperour's Ambaſſadors denied either the fact or the Intention of that Treaty.

While theſe Diſpoſitions and theſe Difficulties delayed the Treaty of the Emperor, the Ratifications of *Spain* were likewiſe deferred by concert, as was ſuppoſed between the two Houſes of *Auſtria*, ſo as the term agreed for exchange of them was quite elapſed, and twice renewed or prolonged by *France* at the deſire of the States. But during this time, the *French* Troops made incurſions into the richeſt parts of *Flanders*, and which had been beſt covered in the time of the War, and there exacted ſo great Contributions, and made ſuch Ravages where they were diſputed, that the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were more ruined between the Signing of the Peace, and the exchange of the Ratifications, than they had

had been in ſo much time, during the whole courſe of the War.

The Outcriers and Calamities of their Subjects in *Flanders*, at length moved the *Spaniards* out of their ſlow pace, but more the embroilments of *England*'s upon the Subject of the Plot, which took up the minds both of Court and Parliament, and left them little or no regard for the courſe of Foreign Affairs. This Proſpect made *Holland* the more eager upon urging the Peace to a general iſſue, and *France* making a wiſe uſe of ſo favourable a Conjuncture preſſed the Empire not only by the Threats and Preparations of a ſudden Invaſion, but alſo by confining their Offers of the Peace to certain days, and raiſing much higher Demands, if thoſe ſhould expire before the Emperor's Acceptance.

All theſe Circumſtances improved by the diligence and abilities of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, at length determined the Houſe of *Auſtria* to run the Ship aſhore, what ever came on't, rather than to keep out at Sea in ſo cruel a Storm as they ſaw falling upon them, and for which they found themſelves ſo unprovided. The *Spaniſh* Ratifications at length arrived, and after the Winter far

far spent in fruitless Contests by the Imperial Ambassadors, and more fruitless hopes from *England*, by the *Spaniards*, and other Confederates; Sir *Leoline Jenkins* gave notice both to the Court and to me, that he looked upon the Treaty between the Emperor and *France*, to be as good as concluded, and soon after I received his Majesty's Commands to go immediately away from the *Hague* to *Nimeguen*, and there assist as a Mediator at the signing of the Peace which then appeared to be General.

I never obeyed the King so unwillingly in my life, both upon account of an Errand so unnecessary, and at best, so merely formal (which I had never been used to in so long a Course of Imployments) and likewise upon the unclemency of the Season, which was never known so great in any Man's memory, as when I set out from the *Hague*. The Snow was in many places where I passed, near Ten foot deep, and ways for my Coach forced to be digged through it; several Post-Boys dyed upon the Road, and it was ridiculous to see People walk about with long Icicles from their Noses. I passed both the *Rhine* and the *Waal* with both Coaches and Waggons upon the

the Ice, and never in my Life ſuffered ſo much from Weather, as in this Journey, in ſpight of all Proviſions I could make againſt it. The beſt of it was, that I knew all the way; it was neither at all material that the Mediators ſhould ſign this Branch of the General Peace, having ſigned none of the other; nor that two ſhould ſign it, when one alone had aſſiſted in the courſe of this Negotiation, ſince it was renewed between the Empire and *France*; beſides, I was very confident it would not at laſt be ſigned by either of us; for I could not believe when it came to the point, the Emperor's Ambaſſadors ſhould yield *that* of Precedence to the Mediators at the concluſion of the Treaty, which they never conſented to do in the whole courſe of it. So that I looked upon the favour of this Journey as afforded me from the particular good-will of ſome of my good Friends in the Foreign Committee, taking a riſe from ſome Inſtances of Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, who was in one of his uſual Agonies, for fear of being left in the way of ſigning alone a Treaty, which he neither was pleaſed with himſelf, nor believed many People in *England* like to be ſo.

I arri-

I arrived at *Nimeguen* the end of *January* 167½, and found all concluded, and ready to ſign, as Sir *Leoline* believed, yet the *Imperialiſts* made a vigorous effort in two Conferences, after my arrival, to gain ſome eaſe in the Points of *Lorrain*, and the dependance of the Ten Towns in *Alſatia*, wherein they thought themſelves the moſt hardly uſed of any others, and in the firſt, their Maſter's Honour and Juſtice moſt concerned; ſo as Count *Kinkski* made a mien of abſolutely breaking, without ſome relief upon them. But the *French* Ambaſſadors knew too well the force of the Conjuncture, and the neceſſity laid upon the Emperor by the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Peace, to Paſs the ſame way, or leap out of the Window. And they were too skilful not to make uſe of it, or to give any ground to all the Inſtances or Threats of th *Imperialiſts*. Theſe on t'other ſide durſt not venture the expiration of the laſt day given them by *France*, nor the reſerve made in that caſe, of exacting new and harder Terms. So as the Peace, was ſigned about three days after my arrival. The poor Duke of *Lorrain* thought himſelf preſſed with ſuch hard-

ſhips

ſhips upon both the Alternatives, that he could not reſolve to accept of either; For in that he had choſen, not only his Dutchy was diſmembred of ſeveral great parts wholly cut off, but the reſt left at the *French* diſcretion, who inſiſted upon great ſpaces of ground left them in propriety, quite croſs this Country for the march of their Armies, whenever they ſhould pretend occaſion; ſo this noble, but unfortunate Prince, was left wholly out of the Treaty, and of his Country, contrary to the direct and repeated Engagements of the Confederates, and the Intentions of his Majeſty, as he often declared in the whole courſe of the Treaty,

When it was ready to ſign, the *French* Ambaſſadors offered to yield the precedence in ſigning it to us as Mediators, which they had done very frankly in the whole courſe of this Aſſembly; but the *Imperialiſts*, when it came to the point, downright refuſed it; and we, according to our primitive Orders, refuſed to ſign without it; and by our Offers, gained only the point of having that determined againſt us, which till this time had always remained in ſuſpence.

Whilſt

Whilſt I ſtayed at *Nimeguen*, I had a Sheet of Paper ſent me from an unknown Hand, written in Latin, but in a Style and Character that diſcovered it to be by ſome *German*; The Subject of it was a long comment upon a Quatrain recited out of *Noſtredamus*.

Nè ſous les ombres d'une journeé nocturne
Sera en los & bonté Soverain.
Ferra renaiſtre le ſang de l' antique Urne
Et changera en Or le ſiecle d' Airain.

Under the ſhades of the Nocturnal day being born,
in glory and goodneſs Sovereign *ſhall ſhine*,
Shall cauſe to ſpring again the Blood of th' Antient Urn,
And into Gold the Brazen Age *refine*.

The Scope of the whole Diſcourſe was to prove the Prince of *Orange*'s being by it deſigned for the Crown of *England*, and how much glory and felicity ſhould attend that Age and Reign. I could not but mention it, becauſe I thought the Interpretation ingeniouſly found out, and applied, having otherwiſe very little regard for any ſuch kind of Predictions, that are ſo apt to amuſe the World. And thought the preſent State of the Royal Family leave not this without appearance

rance of arriving at one time, or other, yet it is at too great a diſtance from my Eyes, which by the courſe of Nature muſt be cloſed long before ſuch an Event is likely to ſucceed. The Author of this Paper made, *The ſhades of the Nocturnal day*, to ſignifie the deep mourning of the Princeſs Royal's Chamber, with the Lamps hung about it, which by the Windows being kept ſhut; left no other light in it that morning the Prince was born, (which was ſoon after his Father's Death.) *Reſtoring the Blood of the Ancient Urn*, was that of *Bourbon*, or of *Charlemain*, from whom the Prince was ſaid to deſcend. The reſt was only Panegyrick upon his Virtues, and the general praiſe ſhould attend them and the Golden Age he ſhould reſtore.

The day after the Treaty was ſigned, I left *Nimeguen*, and returned to the *Hague*, after a cruel fatigue and expence, which was rendred the more agreeable, when upon my going into *England* ſoon after I found my ſelf above ſeven Thouſand Pounds in Arrear at the Treaſury; and though with much trouble and delay, and ſome worſe Circumſtances (to engage Men that were more dexterous than I in ſuch purſuits)

ſuits) I recovered the reſt of my Debt, yet Two and twenty hundred Pounds, due to me for this laſt Ambaſſy, continues to this day a deſperate Debt, and Mark upon me, how unfit I am for a Court, and Mr. *Godolphin*, after having both ſaid, and writ to me, that he would move to have my Statue ſet up, if I compaſſed that Treaty, has ſat ſeveral years ſince in the Treaſury, and ſeen me to want the very Money I laid out of my own Purſe in that Service; and which I am like to leave a Debt upon my Eſtate and Family.

I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with obſerving the remaining Paces of the General Peace, by that of the *North*, which was left to be made at the Mercy of *France*. And though *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* looked big, and ſpoke high for a time after the Peace between the Empire and *France*, pretending they would defend what they had conquered from the *Suedes* in *Germany*; yet upon the march of the *French* Troops into the *Brandenburgh* Country, both thoſe Princes made what haſte they could to finiſh their ſeparate Treaties with *France*; and upon certain ſums of Money agreed on, delivered up all they had gained in this

this War, to the Crown of *Sweden*. Thus *Chriſtendom* was left for the preſent in a General Peace; and *France* to purſue what they could gain upon their Neighbours by their Pretenſions of Dependences, and by the *droit de bienſeance*, which they purſu'd with ſuch Imperious Methods, both againſt the *Empire* and the *Spaniards*, as rendr'd their Acquiſitions after the Peace, greater, at leaſt in conſequence, than what they had gain'd by the War; ſince not only great Tracts of Country upon the ſcore of Dependences, but *Stratzburgh* and *Lutzenburgh* fell as Sacrifices to their Ambition, without any Neigbouring Prince or States concerning themſelves in their Relief. But theſe Enterpriſes I leave to ſome other's Obſervations.

Very ſoon after my arrival at the *Hague*, the King ſent me Orders to provide for my return as ſoon as I could poſſible be ready; and bid me acquaint the Prince and the States, That he had ſent for me over to come into the Place of firſt Seccretary of State in Mr. *Coventry*'s room. My Lord Treaſurer writ to me to the ſame purpoſe, and with more eſteem than I could pretend to deſerve; telling me, among other things, They were fal-

len into a cruel Diſeaſe, and had need of ſo able a Phyſician. This put me in mind of a Story of Dr. *Prujean* (the greateſt of that Profeſſion in our Time,) and which I told my Friends that were with me when theſe Letters came. A certain Lady came to the Doctor in great trouble about her Daughter. *Why, what ails ſhe?* Alas, Doctor! I cannot tell; but ſhe has loſt her Humour, her Looks, her Stomach; her Strength, conſumes every day, ſo as we fear ſhe cannot live. *Why do you not marry her?* Alas, Doctor! *that* we would fain do, and have offer'd her as good a Match as ſhe could ever expect, but ſhe will not hear of marrying. *Is there no other, do you think that ſhe would be content to marry?* Ah, Doctor! that is it that troubles us, for there is a young Gentleman we doubt ſhe loves, that her Father and I can never conſent to. *Why, look you Madam*, replies the Doctor gravely (being among all his Books in his Cloſet) *then the Caſe is this: Your Daughter would marry one man, and you would have her marry another; in all my Books I find no Remedy for ſuch a Diſeaſe as this.* I confeſs I eſteemed the Caſe as deſperate in a Politick as in a Natural Body, and as little to be attempted by a man

man who neither ever had his own Fortune at heart (which ſuch Conjunctures are only proper for,) nor ever could reſolve upon any purſuits of it to go againſt either the true Intereſt, or the Laws of his Country; One of which is commonly endanger'd upon the fatal misfortune of ſuch Diviſions in a Kingdom: I choſe therefore to make my Excuſes both to the King and to my Lord Treaſurer, and deſir'd leave to go to *Florence*, and diſcharge my ſelf of a Promiſe I had made ſome years paſt of a Viſit to the Great Duke the firſt time I had leiſure from my Publick imployments. Inſtead of granting this Suit, the King ſent a Yatch for me towards the end of *February* 167$\frac{8}{9}$. with Orders to come immediately away to enter upon the Secretary's Office about the ſame time with my Lord *Sunderland*, who was brought into Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*'s Place. I obey'd His Majeſty, and acquainted the Prince and States with my journey, and the deſign of it, according to his Command, who made me Compliments upon both, and would have had me believe, that the Secretary of State was to make amends for the loſs of the Ambaſſador. But I told the Prince, that though I muſt go, yet if I found the Scene

what it appeared to us at that diſtance, I would not charge my ſelf with that Imployment upon any terms that could be offer'd me. We knew very well in *Holland*, That both Houſes of Parliament believ'd the Plot; That the Clergy, the City, the Country in general did ſo too, or at leaſt purſu'd it as if they all believ'd it. We knew that the King and ſome of the Court believ'd nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that Opinion; And the Prince told me, He had reaſon to be confident, that the King was in his heart a *Roman-Catholick*, tho' he durſt not profeſs it. For my own part I knew not what to believe of one ſide or t'other, but thought it eaſie to preſage, from ſuch contrary Winds and Tides, ſuch a Storm muſt riſe, as would tear the Ship in pieces, whatever Hand were at the Helm.

At my arrival in *England*, about the latter end of *February*, I found the King had diſſolved a Parliament that had ſat eighteen years, and given great Teſtimonies of Loyalty, and compliance with his Majeſty, till they broke firſt into heats upon the *French* Alliances, and at laſt into Flames upon the Buſineſs of the Plot: I found a new Parliament was called; and that to make way for a calmer Seſſion, the

the reſolution had been taken at Court for the Duke's going over into *Holland*, who embarqu'd the day after my arrival at *London*. The Elections of the enſuing Parliament were ſo eagerly purſu'd, that were all in a manner engag'd before I came over, and by the Diſpoſitions that appear'd in both Electors and Elected, it was eaſie to preſage in what temper the Houſes were like to meet: My Lord *Shaftsbury*, my Lord *Eſſex*, and my Lord *Hallifax*, had ſtruck up with the Duke of *Monmouth*, reſolving to make uſe of His Credit with the King, and to ſupport it by Theirs in the Parliament; and tho the firſt had been as deep as any in the Councels of the Cabal while he was Chancellor, yet all Three had now fallen *in* with the common Humour, againſt the Court and the Miniſtry, endeavouring to inflame the Diſcontents againſt both; and agreed among themſelves, That none of them would come into Court, unleſs they did it all together; which was obſerved like other common ſtrains of Court Friendſhips. Sir *William Coventry* had the moſt Credit of any Man in the Houſe of Commons, and I think the moſt deſervedly, not only for his great Abilities, but for having been turn'd

turn'd out of the Council and the Treaſury, to make way for my Lord *Clifford's* Greatneſs, and the Deſigns of the Cabal. He had been ever ſince oppoſite to the *French* Alliances, and bent upon engaging *England* in a War with that Crown, and aſſiſtance of the Confederates, and was now extremely diſſatisfied with the concluſion of the Peace and with the Miniſtry, that he thought either aſſiſted, or at leaſt might have prevented it; and in theſe diſpoſitions he was like to be followed by the beſt and ſobereſt Part of the Houſe of Commons. For my Lord Treaſurer and Lord Chamberlain, I found them two moſt admirable Emblems of the true, and ſo much admir'd Felicity of the Miniſters of State; The laſt, notwithſtanding the greateſt skill of Court, and the beſt turns of Wit in particular Converſation that I have known there, and the great Figure he made in the Firſt Part of theſe *Memoirs*, was now grown out of all Credit and Confidence with the King, the Duke, and Prince of *Orange*, and thereby forc'd to ſupport himſelf by Intrigues with the perſons moſt diſcontented againſt my Lord Treaſurer's Miniſtry, whoſe Greatneſs he ſo much envi'd, and who was yet at this time in much worſe Con-

Condition than himſelf, tho not ſo ſenſible of it; for he had been very ill with the late Parliament upon account of Tranſactions with *France*, which tho' he had not approved, yet he durſt defend himſelf from the Imputation, for fear of expoſing His Maſter. He was hated by the *French* Ambaſſador for endeavouring (as he thought) to engage the King in a War with *France*. He was in danger of being purſued by his Enemies next Parliament for having (as they pretended) made the Peace, and endeavour'd to ſtifle the Plot; and yet I found within a Fortnight after I arrived, that he ſat very looſe with the King his Maſter, who told me ſeveral reaſons of that change, whereof one was his having brought the buſineſs of the Plot into the Parliament, againſt His abſolute Command; and to compleat the happy and envied State of this Chief Miniſter, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* and Earl of *Sunderland* were joined with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the deſign of his ruine. What a Game ſo embroyled and play'd on all ſides with ſo much heat and paſſion, was like to end in, no man could tell; But I that never had any thing ſo much at heart as the Union of my Country, which

which I thought the only way to its greatneſs and felicity, was very unwilling to have any part in the Diviſions, of it, the deplorable effects whereof I had been too much acquainted with in the Stories of *Athens* and *Rome*, as well as of *England* and *France*; and for this reaſon, tho' I was very much preſs'd to enter upon the Secretary's Office immediately after my Arrival; yet I delay'd it, by repreſenting to His Majeſty how neceſſary it was for Him to have one of the Secretaries in the Houſe of Commons, (where it had been uſual to have them both) and that conſequently it was very unfit for me to enter upon that Office before I got into the Houſe, which was attempted and fail'd; But how long this excuſe laſted, and how it was ſucceeded by many new and various Accidents, and how I was prevailed with by the King to have the Part I had afterwards in a new Conſtitution of Councel; and how after almoſt two years unſucceſsful endeavours at ſome Union, or at leaſt ſome allay of the Heats and Diſtempers between the King and his Parliaments, I took the reſolution of having no more to do with Affairs of State, will be the Subject of a Third Part of theſe *Memoirs*.

FINIS.